FBIS DAILY REPORT

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ZERI I POPULLIT QUOTES NUSHI ON TITOISM, KOSOVO

AU311700 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 25 Dec 81 p 2

[Article by Sotir Kocallari, secretary of the Central Council of Albanian Trade Unions, reviewing second volume of the selected works of Gogo Nushi, former president of Albanian trade unions and AWP Central Committee Politburo, published posthumously: "The Party's Leading Role -- a Decisive Factor in the Education and Mobilization of the Working Class"]

[Excerpt] Gogo Nushi's contribution in the principled, determined and irreconcilable struggle waged by the AWP with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head against internal and external enemies, particularly against modern revisionism, emerges clearly. Thus, what he stated in the speech he delivered at a rally held on 14 September 1958 on the occasion of the 16th anniversary of the Peze conference is of considerable topical importance: "The chauvinistic policy of extermination and denationalization pursued by the Yugoslav revisionists against our brethren, the Albanians in Kosovo, Montenegro and Macedonia, is further proof of their betrayal. What is now happening in Titoist Yugoslavia is reminiscent of the ugliest and most barbaric crimes perpetrated by the Hitlerite fascists. Our people have raised their voice against all these crimes. Our Marxist-Leninist party has fought and will continue to fight with all its might to completely unmask Tito's treacherous group, which has become a base agency of the imperialists against the socialist countries and the international communist movement." The documents included in this volume clearly show the principled Marxist-Leninist stand adopted by Comrade Gogo Nushi against the activity of the Titoite, Khrushchevite and other revisionists. All these documents reflect his resolute stand in loyally defending the party's correct Marxist-Leninist policy against imperialism and revisionism and his loyalty, respect and unbounded love for Comrade Enver Hoxha, the leader of our party and people.

The publication of the second volume of Comrade Gogo Nushi's selected works, like the first volume, is of important political, ideological and educational value. The lessons that emerge from this volume serve communists, working people, activists and party, state and trade union cadres in their work and struggle to implement the decisions of the historic Eighth AWP Congress.

EDITORIAL PRAISES PARTY-PEOPLE UNITY, WORK

AU011640 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 26 Dec 81 p 1

[Editorial: "Our Strength and Invincibility Lies in Party-People Unity"]

[Text] The steel-like unity of the people with the party once again manifested itself with particular force in the year that is now coming to an end. The Eighth AWP Congress provided one proof of this unity. "A brilliant reflection of this great unity," Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the Eighth AWP Congress, "is the determination, fervor and heroism with which our people are struggling to achieve the tasks set out by the party and to overcome the various difficulties that have emerged on our way to successfully meet the imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement." This mobilization and readiness of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and all the working masses is once more apparent in these days in the all-round and widespread efforts to implement the decisions set out by the Eighth AWP Congress and in the numerous revolutionary initiatives that have been undertaken everywhere, in the cities and in the countryside, to prefulfill this year's plans ahead of a schedule and to create sound foundations for the successful fulfillment of next year's plan and those of subsequent years.

Being a militant unity of revolutionaries in thought and action and based on the party's line, ideology, principles and norms, our party's unity has been and also remains a great factor of our strength and invincibility. This unity serves as a powerful weapon in fulfilling the tasks for the country's socialist construction and the country's defense and in meeting and overcoming all difficulties and obstacles on our road. The approval and all-round support of our working masses for the party's line and directives and the daily effort to implement them in practice are a reflection of this unity.

The party's loftiest ideal is to defend the interests of the people; therefore, "what the party says the people do and what the people want the party does." This is another important factor in the firm belief of the working masses in the party's line. This is materialized in the high sense of responsibility of people to undertake even greater tasks and implement them.

We are building socialism relying entirely on our own efforts and in the conditions of a savage imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement. The communists, cadres and all the working people in our country, therefore, cannot reconcile themselves with any manifestation or attitude that gives rise to euphoria and complacency. Unity is strengthened and tempered above all at work. The patriotism and heroism of the masses has always shined and continues to shine in the revolutionary activity of the communists and of the masses in fulfilling the great tasks set out by the party. This revolutionary activity causes inexhaustible creative energies to erupt and kindles revolutionary enthusiasm and optimism. Thus, the party-people unity on which our strength and invincibility lies is further strengthened. It is the duty of the party organs and basic organizations to work unceasingly to further temper this unity and to guide the daily work of communists and of the masses in achieving new successes in implementing the magnificent program set out by the party at its eighth congress.

Our path has never been strewn with flowers and our progress has not been and cannot be an easy one. An all-round hostile pressure is exerted against our country. The degenerating influences of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement aiming to nurture and keep alive the vestiges of the past are not without dangers. The intention of enemies is to confuse the minds of our people and to denigrate our magnificent reality. It is the constant duty of party organs and basic organizations, as well as of their instruments, to work constantly to strengthen and temper the ideological unity of the masses by waging class struggle correctly and in accordance with the party's and Comrade Enver's teachings. "The struggle against manifestations of alien ideologies, whether old or new, the struggle for the communist education of the working people," the Eighth AWP Congress stressed, "constitutes the broadest and most complex front in the class struggle that is being waged in our country." The party organizations and, under their leadership, the mass organizations, too, are carrying out a great effort in this field and have gained considerable experience. However, the harm caused to unity by petty bourgeois manifestations, opportunistic or sectarian attitudes toward declassed and hostile elements, the inclination toward narrow personal interests, unhealthy familiarity, clannishness, egotistical, conformistic or haughty behavior and liberal and bureaucratic attitudes must not be underrated even for a moment, bearing in mind that the most dangerous enemy is the one that has been forgotten. The party teaches us that communists, the people and the younger generations must be constantly educated in the spirit of the dictatorship of the proletariat and class struggle. They must be continually watchful and ready to defend socialism against all enemies and dangers and to oppose all that is contrary to the spirit and principles of socialism.

The strengthening of unity requires attention to be centered primarily on the correct implementation of the party's Marxist-Leninist line, its revolutionary principles and norms, democratic centralism, collegiality, criticism and self-criticism, proletarian democracy, revolutionary watchfulness, critical analyses of problems and manifestations, iron and conscious discipline, the class struggle, the line of the masses and so forth, to defend and promote the victories of socialism. A continuous check on the implementation of these principles and norms is of special importance to further revolutionize the life of the party organizations and of the working collectives. Those party organizations that are following up these problems in an organized manner are constantly in the vanguard, their internal life is filled with energy and dynamism and the communists are leading with their own personal example. Stimulating and inspiring the masses, the plans are thus fulfilled and overfulfilled and the successes become increasingly greater.

The lofty spirit of fraternal solidarity and mutual assistance prevailing among our working people and reflected in the slogan "one for all and all for one" is another clear testimony of our militant unity. This solidarity, which has manifested itself particularly strongly at key moments of history in the struggle against Yugoslav, Soviet, Chinese and other revisionists, has also manifested itself strongly at times of natural calamities such as earthquakes and so forth; however, it has also manifested itself brilliantly in daily life and work. The assistance rendered to a comrade or to the collective to ensure progress and to fulfill on time various tasks in production, the technical-scientific revolution and so forth are lofty moral traits that the party has cultivated and developed in the consciousness of our people. The correct leadership of the party led by Comrade Enver, the sound revolutionary atmosphere prevailing throughout the country, mutual trust and the militant party-people unity constitute the greatest guarantee for fulfilling the historic decisions of the Eighth AWP Congress and for making our beloved socialist homeland stronger and the life of our people more beautiful and happier.

ENVER HOXHA VISITS ART GALLERY 24 DECEMBER

AU241401 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1330 GMT 24 Dec 81

[Text] Comrade Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee, this morning visited the figurative arts exhibition in the art gallery pavillion on the subject of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the AWP and its Eighth Congress. Comrade Enver Hoxha was accompanied in this visit by Comrades Adil Carcani, Kadri Hasbiu, Ramiz Alia and Qirjako Mihali.

At the entrance of the art gallery, the beloved leader of our party and people was welcomed by Gaqo Nesho, first secretary of the Tirana District AWP Committee; Dritero Agolli, chairman of the Union of Writers and Artists of Albania; and Anastas Kondo, chairman of the Committee for Culture and the arts.

Before starting his visit in the halls of the exhibition, Comrade Enver Hoxha met with painters, sculptors, writers, working people in the sector of the arts and culture who had come to the exhibition. Passing from one picture to the next, standing in front of the tableaus, compositions and portraits in paintings and sculpture, which reflect the struggle of the Albanian people under the party's leadership for the country's liberation and socialist construction, Comrade Enver expressed his appreciation and congratulated the artists for their party-minded, inspired and talented works. Create as many such beaufiful works as you can, he said. This makes one's heart grow fonder.

Comrade Enver Hoxha then had a warm conversation with the artists. These beautiful and worthy works -- he stated -- clearly reflect your inspiration, which will rise even higher in the future. You are closely linked with the people, their joys and problems and, marching alongside the people, you will progress even more, as we are all progressing in all fields of our life. Your works clearly reflect the party's orientations. The party has always stressed that art and culture are of extraordinary importance. There can be no talk of socialism without a socialist art and culture. This art and culture opens up vistas to the people, is present in life and better meets the needs of the people. Work for the people -- Comrade Enver instructed -- for the party and for man, because it is they who waged the struggle, it is they who are building socialism. The bravery and wisdom of the people must constitute the themes of your works. I wish you a long life and inspiration for every more beautiful works.

After this warm conversation, Comrade Enver continued his visit through the pavillions of the art gallery and looked at the works of our painters of earlier years, which constitute a valuable experience for our younger artists, an experience which, as Comrade Enver instructed, must be mastered by the generations and furthered.

Comrade Enver Hoxha and the other party and state leaders accompanying him were photographed together with the painters and sculptors at the exhibition and then left, being bid farewell with love and respect by all.

TRADE UNION COUNCIL ENDORSES AWP DECISIONS

AU021636 Tirana PUNA in Albanian 22 Dec 81 pp 1-3

["Summary" of report delivered by Rita Marko, president of the Central Council of Albanian Trade Unions, at the 18 December plenum of the council in Tirana: "Let Us Raise the Consciousness and Role of the Working Class to the Level of the Great Tasks Set Out by the Eighth AWP Congress"]

[Excerpts] Comrades, our plenum is meeting just over a month following the successful conclusion of the proceedings of the historic Eighth AWP Congress. The Eigth AWP Congress marked a higher stage in the development of Marxist-Leninist theoretical thinking, in the revolutionary practice of our party, in our country's economic and cultural development, in further strengthening the country's defense potential and in increasing the well-being of the masses.

The working class and the Albanian trade unions support our party's principled stand in resolutely and firmly defending the rights of our brethren living in Kosovo, Macedonia and Montenegro, who constitute one single ethnic entity, one single people formed throughout the centuries, with their won history, language and culture, who have constantly fought to defend their own national identity and existence. The Albanian working class and the Albanian trade unions support the just demand of the fraternal people of Kosovo to liquidate inequality and economic backwardness, to develop their education and culture and to gain the status of a republic within the Yugoslav federation. A savage terror, oppression and exploitation is perpetrated on the valiant people of Kosovo. Albanian workers and working people are discriminated against, dismissed from their jobs and forced to wander in foreign lands in emigration. Through these actions, the great-Serb chauvinists and the Yugoslav revisionists have been and are being continually unmasked before international opinion.

The decisions of the Eighth AWP Congress were received with joy and enthusiasm by all the people and our working class, because in these decisions they see an even happier future, the country's prosperity and strength and the constant strengthening of its defense. These decisions constitute a magnificent program and a broad and long-term platform for the entire activity of the trade unions as well. The congress appreciated the work on the trade unions and set out a number of future tasks. It stressed that, under the party's leadership, the trade unions have carried out their tasks successfully and responsibly. This is greatly inspiring to us. The decisions of the Eight AWP Congress will remain at the base of our educational, mobilizing and organizational work. The study and profound elaboration of the materials of the Eighth AWP Congress by all the workers and all working people remains an important task of the trade union organizations. We must combine this serious effort of study with the practical implementation of the tasks set out.

This entire activity must aim at further raising the conscicusness of the working class to enable it, under the party's leadership and as the vanguard class in society, to successfully fulfill the economic tasks and all other chores in various fields, to participate actively in administratering the affairs of state and of society and to exercise its control everywhere and over everyone.

U.S. GRAIN EXPORT POLICY CAUSES CONCERN

AU301820 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 21 Dec 81 p 4

[Ilir Gurakuqi article: "The Grain Weapon and American 'Humanism'"]

[Text] The United States is the greatest exporter of grain in the world, providing 45 percent of the world exports. The Washington leaders attempt to present this great export also as a humanitarian gesture and as aid to the countries suffering from food deficiencies. But although the production of grain has not increased, and for some types it has in fact fallen, one is still forced to look elsewhere for the reasons behind American "humanism".

First, they are political. They are also clearly expressed in the following declaration made some time ago by the U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Block: I believe that the food weapon is the strongest weapon we have at our disposal today to ensure peace in the world, for as long as other countries are dependent on America for their food, we will be continually less disturbed."

It is obvious what peace America is seeking: It is world domination. The United States is attempting to achieve this "peace" through the weapon of grain as well as firearms. This explains the determination of Reagan and his predecessors to increase the export of grain under any conditions. This is the aim of American "humanism." It becomes even more clear when you hear of the tactics pursued to use grain as a weapon especially in developing countries.

The U.S. use of grain as blackmail finds ground in the agricultural policies which a number of countries pursue and which comply with the interests of world imperialism, especially American imperialism. In this way, neocolonialism has preserved intact one of the major traits of the old colonialism: giving a monocultural form to the agricultural of these countries. All types of machinations, pressure and blackmail are carried out so that this will remain the major law of agricultural policy in undeveloped countries.

Bourgeois propaganda attempts to justify this policy. It even presents it as valuable to both sides because "specialization" and "division of labor" in world agricultural production are realized through it. But if there is any advantage here, it is all on American imperialism's side.

These countries, cultivating only one type of crop, are obliged to turn to American imperialism for other crops, especially grain. And the latter does not miss the opportunity to use grain as a weapon and instrument of pressure and blackmail. This weapon secures the continuation of this policy and extends neocolonialism's life. But American imperialism also does not hesitate to use it to secure other concessions, whether political or military.

While the political benefits are great, even greater are the economic profits which the Ameircan multinationals secure from such an agricultural policy. They establish the policy of prices. And it is obvious that this policy cannot be other than it their favor. The monocultural goods are bought from the producing countries at the lowest prices to sell elsewhere at advantageous prices. Even further: By obliging the developing countries to import grain, they not only secure political consessions by using grain as a weapon, but also secure advantageous markets for selling their goods. Grain export constitutes no more or less than a quarter of American exports. And in its trade the American monopolies are their own masters. Out of the 30 multinationals which are concerned with grain trade in the world, the 21 largest are American. It is easier for them to increase their profits under such conditions. The facts speak for themselves: Income was doubled in the seventies for the same quantity of grain due to a doubling of prices.

Some concrete facts in the implementation of this policy and its results make it clear who profits and who loses. In Senegal, 52 percent of the land (the most fertile) is planted in peanuts while this country imports half the rice and all the grain it consumes. The same things has happened in Ghana where 56 percent of the land is sown in cocoa, and the largest portion of grain is imported. The Dominican Republic was obliged to grow sugarcane as its "specialization" because this benefited the American monopolies. The army was used to destroy the country's traditional crops to open land for this culture. This has also happened during the "specialization" of Ecuador in bananas, Haiti in sugarcane, Venezuela and Brazil in coffee and so forth. Such is the situation in many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America: While the production of bananas, peanuts, cocoa, coffee, sugarcane and other things is flourishing, hundreds of millions of people are suffering from lack of food on account of someone else; another 30 million people died last year from hunger.

Reagan, when he poses as a "humanitarian," when he pretneds to feed the world with American grain, "forgets" these facts. He "forgets" that the price of American "Humanism" is the tragedy of hunger of hundreds of millions of masses in the undeveloped countries. But the latter cannot be deceived and do not forget because they are suffering the burden of this "humanism".

MARTIAL LAW IN POLAND: 'NECESSARY AND LAWFUL'

AU311422 Sofia BTA in English 0830 GMT 31 Dec 81

["Martial Law--A Necessary and Lawful Measure"--BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 31 Dec (BTA) -- This is a summary of journalist Ivan Petrov's article on the situation in Poland in today's RABOTNICHESKO DELO.

The imposition of martial law in Poland was a necessary, urgent and lawful measure. It is not an arbitrary act, but an objective and emergency-demanded way of defending the socialist society from the serious threat looming ever larger. This is a lawful measure carried out on the basis of the Constitution of Poland, which is applied in order to protect the state from the blows of the counterrevolutionary and antisocialist forces.

Under the circumstances thus created the alternative solution to martial law could only have been a civil war. That is why the Bulgarian people assess the adopted measures as correct. They are seen by the Bulgarian people as a sign of the resolution of the leadership of the PZPR and Poland to defend the socialist acquisitions of the Polish workers and to ensure the development of the country along the road of socialism.

After the 17-month crisis Poland faced a catastrophe. Through sabotage, political blackmail, undergrounded and unrealistic demands and strikes, through a moral and psychological pressure and demagogy, the counterrevolution drove the world's tenth industrial country to the edge of an economic and social chasm.

The aim of the counterrevolutionary forces was the collapse of the socialist system in Poland. The struggle against the errors and the diversions proved to be a suitable facade and an acceptible political face behind which to conceal the genuine objectives pursued by the antisocialist forces.

The counterrevolutionary forces chose and strictly adhered to the tactics of "The Worse, the Better". With the development of the crisis they started discussing the ways, the means and the time for the implementation of these aims of theirs. Finally they considered possible and realistic to reach their hand for the power, to lay down openly, daringly and rudely the question of power on the agenda.

"The Radom affair" revealed to the Polish people and to the world the true face and the true aims of the counterrevolutionary forces. It was in Radom that the ways and means of achieving a change in the sociopolitical system of Poland were discussed clearly and sincerely, thus revealing the whole social hypocrisy of the antisocialist forces.

The martial law was prompted by the need to put an end to the anarchy and the chaos which seed the country in the period of the crisis. Without an end being put to the anarchy and the chaos, there could be no way out of the crisis, there could be no normal conditions for the development of society and for the life of the people, the errors and deficiencies could not be overcome.

The counterrevolutionary forces bred anarchy and chaos because they were creating the conditions and the atmosphere or the usurpation of the political power.

A growing number of workers, including "Solidarity" activists, who have been deceived by the demagogy and the schemes of the preparators from KSS-KOR, [Social Self Defense Committee] the Confederation of Independent Poland and other counterrevolutionary groups associated with imperialist centres, now see their genuine face, aims and ambitions.

The truth about the counterrevolution in Poland has become evident and it cannot be concealed behind any insinuations and slanders, no matter where they are coming from.

The need of a martial law was dictated also by the threat looming over the independence and the integrity of Poland as an independent and sovereign socialist state.

Poland found herself in a critical situation from both internal and external point of view.

There had to be taken a historical responsibility for the fate of Poland and this responsibility had to be taken by those political, state and social persons who truly cared and were ready to fight for popular and national interests, for socialism in Poland, for the preservation of peace and the stability in Europe and the world. The inference to be drawn is one: The very development of the crisis after August of 1980 brought about the martial law.

In spite of the wish demonstrated by the Government of Poland and by the leadership of the Polish United Workers'Party, the antisocialist forces -- within "Solidarity" and in a "Solidarity" disguise -- rejected the way of agreement, discarded the way of dialogue and cooperation boycotted the efforts of the leadership and the society at stabilizing the situation. The counterrevolutionary and antisocialist forces thwarted all efforts and adopted a course of confrontation and preparation for the seizing of political power.

That is why the emergency measures in Poland cannot be assessed otherwise than as necessary and lawful.

At present the situation in Poland is returning to normal and is getting improved. A serious blow has been dealt to the counter-revolutionary forces and their actions.

The bodies and the organizations of the Polish United Workers'Party, the union parties, the mass organizations, and all the Polish patriots have started playing an ever greater part in the process of normalization and stabilization of the situation.

The popular masses are getting increasingly aware that by doing away with the threat of a civil war, the martial law has secured the preconditions for calm living and working.

The attempts of counterrevolutionary and anarchist elements to provoke the power, while adopting desperate, terrorist actions at certain places, do not change the picture on the whole.

The separate tragic incidents came only to confirm once again how necessary the emergency measures of the government have been and to show what a blood bath the Polish people have been saved from, a blood bath towards which they have been instigated by the internal counter-revolution and its Western preparators.

In order to make the situation more difficult certain circles in Poland and the West present the emergency situation as a setback, as an attempt to pardon the errors and deformations committed in the past.

The martial law is not directed against the struggle at rectifying the mistakes and the diversions from the Marxist-Leninist principles, it is directed against the attempt of the anti-socialist forces to exploit the errors and the mistakes for the purpose of organizing a counter-revolution in Poland.

The emergency measures create the necessary preconditions and spell the start of the way out of the crisis. They represent a blow to the counter-revolutionary forces, lay the foundations for the introduction of order in society, create conditions for working and producing, secure the internal and international security of the state. In order to do away with the crisis it is still necessary to continue the struggle with the necessary vigilance and ideological and political maturity, with the necessary organization and strategic consideration for the stages, the ways and the means of overcoming it. Now, more than ever before Poland needs united and active Marxist-Leninist party. The Polish United Workers' Party should protect itself from the pressure of reactionary and right-wing opportunist forces inside and outside Poland, to find correct Marxist-Leninist decisions for the Polish problems and to make the masses more active.

Being unable to swallow the fact that the counter-revolution suffered a serious blow, certain circles in the West, especially across the Atlantic, are seeking to organize a true crusade against socialist Poland, disregarding generally accepted norms of the international law and rudely interfering in the internal affairs of Poland. The American administration tried to formulate recipes of its own as to how the Polish Government should act and announced "economic sanctions" against the Soviet Union because the latter refused to share the American view of the situation in Poland. These flagrant and irresponsible actions are dangerous not so much for the Soviet Union with its might power and huge resources as they are so for the international security and cooperation they represent an attempt at further escalating the tension. Such attempts are the result of an unrealistic and dangerous approach.

The adoption of emergency measures is an internal Polish matter, while the development of the situation there cannot be an objective cause for generating further international tension.

The response of some circles in the West, particularly ones across the Atlantic, shows who stands behind the anti-socialist forces and schemes in Poland, shows who seeks advantage from the crisis in that country and who seeks a new exacerbation of the situation in the world.

The flagrant and ill-intended falsifications of the Western propaganda insisting on "some threat" for Poland posed by the Warsaw Treaty and the Soviet Union cannot deceive the honest and sober-minded people in the world.

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES DIPLOMATIC CORPS ON NEW YEAR

AU041028 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 4 Jan 82

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, received the leaders of the diplomatic missions accredited in Bulgaria, on the occasion of New Year. Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, and Nikola Manolov, secretary of the State Council, attended the ceremony.

The diplomats congratulated Comrade Todor Zhivkov on the occasion of the New Year on behalf of the peoples of the countries represented in Bulgaria.

Gilbert de Dardel, ambassador of Switzerland and doyen of the diplomatic corps, conveyed cordial greetings and wishes to Comrade Todor Zhivkov and to the Bulgarian people for health, happiness, and successes in the country's development.

BRIEFS

PEKO TAKOV IN SANDANSKI -- On 29 December a session of the Sandanski City BCP Committee and People's Council took place. Improving the socioeconomic development of the city as well as tourist services were discussed. Comrade Peko Takov took part in the session. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 29 Dec 81 AU]

PERNIK OKRUG SESSSION -- The Pernik Okrug BCP Committee, the Pernik Okrug Bulgarian National Agrarian Union leadership and the Pernik Okrug People's Council Executive Committee held a joint session today to discuss the state of plant growing and agriculture in the okrug. The session was attended by Vasil Tsanov, BCP Central Committee secretary, by economic experts of the okrug and by Aleksandur Petkov, chairman of the National Agro-Industrial Union Central Council, as well as by party officials from the BCP Central Committee Agricultural Department. Boris Manov, first secretary of the Okrug Party Committee, read an introductory address on the development and trends, as well as the further intensification of plant growing in the okrug. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 30 Dec 81 AU]

GUSTAV HUSAK ADDRESSES NATION ON NEW YEAR

LD011528 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1200 GMT 1 Jan 82

[New Year address by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR; date and place not given -- live or recorded]

[Text] Dear fellow citizens and esteemed comrades. I greet you cordially on entering the new year on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, the National Front Central Committee, the Czechoslovak Government and myself. I wish all of you at home, as well as our citizens who are fulfilling their working duties abroad, the best of health, successes in work and happiness in your homes in the coming year. We send sincere New Year's greetings to the fraternal people of the USSR and to the other states of the socialist community and wish them many successes in their economic and cultural development. We cordially greet the friends of our homeland in the whole world with whom we are tied together by common aims of social progress, permanent peace and real human happiness.

Dear friends. The year past, 1981, was another year filled with the creative constructive work of our people. This was a year of important events in the life of our country. The 16th Congress of the CPCZ which has been leading the revolutionary struggle of our people for 60 years, took place last year. The congress evaluated the results achieved during the past 5 years and adopted a realistic program for the further development of our socialist society.

General elections to the representative bodies took place last year. In them the state administration bodies were democratically renewed. Our socialist state consolidated [upevnit] further. The election results became a great political victory of our people. They showed again that they fully support the policy of the CPCZ, the National Front and our socialist state. The elections became another manifestation of the unified will of our citizens to continue on the way of socialist development, creative work and peace.

In 1981 we had to deal with many problems in our economy and overcome a few obstacles. Therefore, we should appreciate even more that we succeeded in achieving a number of positive results. Although we justly point out weak points and shortcomings we have to face, and we criticize them often and look for a rectification, the decisive fact is that the economic and political strength of our country increased further and that the results of common work made it possible to keep up the high material and cultural living standard of our people. On behalf of the CPCZ and our socialist state I sincerely thank all our workers, agricultural workers, members of intelligentsia, women and youth, the members of the armed forces, all our citizens who contributed to achieving these results, who worked with responsibility and socialist awareness for the fourishing of our socialist homeland. We appreciate the honest work of everybody who contributed to the fulfillment of tasks in indsutry, mining, agriculture, the building industry, transportation, commerce and services, in scientific institutions, in bringing up and educating the young generation, in creating cultural-artistic values, in health care and in improving the living conditions of the people.

The fact that people in our country can live and work in peace, that our children and young people are growing up with sufficient food, that great care is taken of the citizens who have earned their just retirement -- all this is convincing evidence showing the way our socialist society implements its basic aim of securing a happy and contented life for the working man.

It is a lasting basis of the policy of the Communist Party and our socialist order. Socialism creates good conditions for our citizens, enabling them to utilize their knowledge and abilities, to be useful to their homeland, to look into the future with trust and certainty. As distinct from the life of the working people in the capitalist countries, in our country nobody needs to fear losing his job, finding himself homeless or without medical care when ill. We can be fully justified in saying that no other society has done and is capable of doing for a working man and for securing his vital and social necessities [histotv] as much as socialism has done. Our policy has a basic aim also for the future: to secure a good basis for further developing our homeland, for a happy life for our people in peace. This is the main guideline of the program adopted by the 16th CPCZ Congress. It is with this guideline that we are entering the new year -- 1982.

Recently, the party and state organs discussed and adopted the plan for economic and social development for 1982, as well as the bill on the Seventh 5-Year Plan. We have openly mentioned that the coming year will not be easy. In order to be able to cope with the tasks which we have to fulfill in the current internal and external conditions, that are considerably more complicated, the active support and great labor initiative of all of us is necessary, as well as flexible and efficient managerial work, and a highly responsible approach and savings in economy and discipline. To express it in the words of the 16th party congress, if we want to reach the set tasks of the national economic development and in securing the present high standard of living of our people, we must even more consistently increase production effectiveness in all spheres. We must increase the standard of management and quality of all work. We shall live as well as we work: this phrase is even more valid now than in the past.

Comrades, preservation of world peace is a necessary condition for fulfilling the plans and resolutions with which we are entering the new year. That is why Czechoslovak foreign policy is taking an active part in the joint struggle of all the progressive anti-imperialist and democratic forces for the prevention of the threat of war. The current international situation continues to remain complicated. It evokes justified uneasiness and apprehension of honest people all over the world. Aggressive imperialistic circles, in particular in the United States, are attempting to change the existing balance of power to their advantage by means of feverish armaments. They would like to gain military supremacy, escalate efforts to weaken the socialist community and suppress the liberation struggle of the peoples of many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is a policy which threatens the vital interests of mankind, crudely treads on the rights and strivings of the peoples. That is why it is meeting with increasingly more resolute opposition of the progressive, democratic, peace forces the world over.

The USSR and the other states of the socialist community, with their consistent peace policy, are at the forefront. Czechoslovakia fully supports this common policy which proceeds from the 26th CPSU Congress. We contribute actively to strengthening the unity of the socialist community and the Warsaw Treaty. We are in full sympathy [sme plne solidarni] with the struggle of the socialist patriotic forces in the Polish People's Republic to overcome the crisis and to strengthen the socialist [word indistinct] and with their battle against antisocialist counterrevolutionary forces.

Along with the other socialist countries, we consistently enforce the policy of peaceful coexistence, of respecting the justified interests of all countries and of developing equal, mutually advantageous international cooperation.

Instead of developing the arms race, we propose the adoption of effective measures for its limitation and for disarmament. Against the imperialist policy of initiating and stirring up crises in different parts of the world, the socialist countries put forward constructive concrete proposals for doing away with the hotbeds of tension and for the continuation of detente.

We firmly condemn various hazardous concepts of so-called limited nuclear war and fully support the measures proposed by the USSR which would lead to the reduction and gradual removal of the threat of a nuclear war. The peace policy of the socialist countries is in agreement with the interests of all nations. It shows a possible and hopeful way of preserving peace for this as well as for future generations. Therefore, in spite of the complexity of the world's current development, we look to the future with a firm hope that mankind will succeed in averting war.

We base our national existence, state sovereignty and further development of the socialist system upon our firm friendship, alliance and fraternal cooperation with the USSR and the countries of the socialist community, upon our joint course of actions in the struggle for the victory of socialism, peace and progress in the world. We shall strengthen and deepen this friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation in the interest of our country, of all our people.

Dear fellow citizens, comrades. We enter the new year 1982 with a wish that it be another year of peaceful development for our country, of calm active work in fulfilling the tasks of the second year of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. Let us all, with the awareness of responsible managers, contribute to the success of this year's work, to a happy life in our country, to see our country, the CSSR, flourish in peace. Once again I wish you all, dear friends, all the best in the new year.

SLOVAK COUNCIL APPROVES LAWS ON ECONOMY

LD190034 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1130 GMT 18 Dec 81

[Excerpts] A 2-day session of the Slovak National Council ended this morning. It was attended by the members of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee, Jozef Lenart, first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, and Slovak Premier Peter Colotka. The deputies unanimously approved three new laws of the Slovak National Council: the law on the state plan for the development of the Slovak economy for 1981-1985, the law on the state budget for next year and a law on internal trade. After the closing speech by Karol Martinka, the deputies unanimously passed the first two bills into law.

The bill on internal trade was then introduced by Dezider Goga, minister of trade. He said that the existing law has been in force for more than 30 years and no longer fully satisfies the requirements of the prevailing standards of our economy and the growing material and cultural needs of the population. During the past period there have been substantial structural changes in market consumption, and he went on to say that since 1950 retail turnover has risen more than fivefold on a nationwide scale and eightfold in Slovakia.

The new law on internal trade adjusts the relations and principles underlying a uniform socialist policy. It increases the authority and responsibility of national committees, expands control activity and ensures the flexible handling of complaints by consumers. After a debate the deputies approved the plan.

BRIEFS

LENART AT NUCLEAR PLANT -- Jozef Lenart, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CPSL Central Committee first secretary, visited the nuclear power station in Jaslovske Bohunice today. He paid attention to the accident-free and smooth operation of the V-1 powerplant and briefed himself about the current state of construction of the V-2 powerplant. In the afternoon Comrade Lenart visited the Tesla enterprise in Piestany. He thanked the collectives of both enterprises he visited for the work done this year and wished them many fresh successes in the new year. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2200 GMT 30 Dec 81 LD]

ERICH HONECKER NEW YEAR MESSAGE REPORTED

LD211242 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0302 GMT 31 Dec 81

["A Peaceful and Successful New Year to All Citizens by Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SED Central Committee and Chairman of the GDR State Council" -- ADN headline]

[Text] Berlin 31 Dec (ADN) -- NEUES DEUTSCHLAND publishes the following article by Erich Honecker on Thrusday marking the turn of the year:

The old year is coming to its close. Only a few more hours remain before we write 1982. I send my cordial greetings to all citizens of the GDR, all comrades and friends. I combine these with best wishes for a peaceful and successful new year, for good health and happiness in personal life. Once again at this year's end, we look back as we always do at what is behind us, thinking at the same time of the tasks before us. No one can disregard the fact that the deterioration of the international situation casts a shadow. But we have every reason to see what has been achieved in the struggle for peace and socialism, the continued dynamic and stable development of our republic, in the right light. A review of the past justifies our meeting the future with confidence.

In the GDR's social development, 1981 occupies an important position. The 10th SED Congress decided on future domestic and foreign policy, the key of which is to secure peace and to improve the people's material and cultural standard of living. The People's Chamber turned the 5-year plan for the development of the GDR economy from 1981-85 into law. In 1981, industrious work, full of initiative, was performed in all fields for the well-being of the people. Evidence of this are the results in socialist competition which received fresh impetus. Through their feats in strengthening our socialist state of workers and peasants on an all-round basis, the workers demonstrated their full trust in our party's policy and their firm solidarity with it. In this lies our strength. What is beneficial to society also benefits the individual. This is how it should continue to be in future.

The ambitious goals of the 1981 economic plan were exceeded in industrial goods production by 3 days worth of production. Thus, what the workers adopted as the leitmotif of their socialist competition has been implemented. National income increased by five percent. These results reflect both the considerable increased rate in industrial production as well as the reduction in material and energy consumption. The economic successes encouraged the development of science and culture, education and health. In turn, these social fields increasingly influenced the economic processes. The good labor results of the cooperative peasants in field and farm also contributed considerably to this.

Economic and social policy in 1981 continued to form a firm unity. The workers' working and living conditions were able to be secured and further developed. Anyone who passes through the towns and villages of our republic with his eyes open may see what it means to have the 182,000 apartments which were newly built or modernized in 1981. The high figures of the previous year thus have been exceeded yet again and our housing construction has accomplished its best annual results to date. Material and cultural progress are closely linked in this respect. One need only recall that the Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra was able to move into its new home and in Berlin the sports and recreation center was handed over to the capital's citizens. Together with the apartments, new schools, nursery schools, nurseries, modern health institutions and shopping centers went up everywhere.

The GDR's good and steady development has also gained respectful attention beyond our state borders. In view of the crisis phenomena which have occurred in the world of capital, in view of the breakdown of production and the currency collapse, social dismantlement and the armies of unemployed which amount to many millions and which also include wide sections of youth, this is only too understandable.

Our policy creates a favorable climate for good work which is worthwhile because our policy of peace, our economic and social policy form a unity. The longer we keep on this course and the more strongly it influences the everyday experiences of the workers, the more clearly this can be seen. The economic results of the past year are particularly valuable because they were achieved by intensifying production. The advantages of the socialist planned economy are also proving themselves therefore in the acceleration of scientific-technological progress, comprehensive rationalization and the improvement of material economy. With their help, the GDR is developing more and more a modern socialist industrial country which maintains and develops its forward position in today's world.

Our party and government responded in good time to questions of development which had arisen and lived up to their leading role in society successfully. One decade ago, for example, they laid the groundwork for maintaining and developing lignite mining in our country. They initiated many types of work to make comprehensive use of microelectronics, industrial robots and electronic computer technology. Major combines, which closely link science, production and foreign trade, became the basis of our economic structure. We are still at the beginning in implementing our economic strategy for the eighties, its 10 main points. This was noted in a dispassionate and businesslike manner at the third meeting of the SED Central Committee. We have succeeded well with the beginning, however.

In our socialist GDR we can, with regard to everything still remaining to be done, review 1981 positively. Every good performance which has gone into it is proof of a growing sense of personal responsibility and a high level of preparedness. We set great store by this. I feel the need to express to all those people in our country, who have enthusiastically helped with the progress during the past year, with our contribution to the struggle for peace and socialism, heartiest thanks from the SED Central Committee, from the Council of State, from the Council of Ministers and from the National Council of the GDR National Front. These thanks go to the working class, to the cooperative farmers, to the members of the intelligensia and to all workers. Included are the women, men, youths and veterans of labor. We also most cordially thank the members of the National People's Army, the frontier troops, the security organs, the German People's Police and the combat groups of the working class.

In the foreign-political field, 1981 was a time of increased and more constructive work to safeguard peace which we undertook together with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal states. It is well known that in the world arena a lot has happened which proves that the debate on the vital problems of mankind has become more heated. As a result of the most aggressive circles of imperialism, especially the United States, increasing their course of confrontation and arms build-up, the struggle for peace and socialism has entered a new phase. That which is to be decided is no more and no less than the question of whether mankind is to sink into a nuclear inferno or whether this threat will be averted and peace lastingly guaranteed.

For the people the answer is obvious. They want peace, peace and peace again. They fight against the proponents of the NATO long-term arms program, of the Brussels missile decision and of the nuclear first-strike theories of imperialism trying to accustom them to the possibility of a new world war like an inevitable fate. These forces have chosen Europe as the first battlefield of a nuclear war. It is from their policy that there emerges the real threat to mankind. It is to them that the peace-loving people direct, therefore, their most emphatic demands for a turning-back, for effective measures to safeguard peace.

The swelling of the peace movement beyond ideological frontiers, political differences of opinion, party membership and religious beliefs is evidence of the urge for awareness of responsibility and reason, for real progress toward peace. The masses of the GDR are a firm part of this frontier-crossing peace movement. As is generally known, it is a question of a readiness to prevent nuclear war.

We are ready in this issue to ally ourselves with anyone who, like us, is working to prevent a nuclear inferno that will obliterate mankind. Europe must not become a Euroshima. This has also been convincingly demonstrated by the 13 million signatures of GDR citizens to the peace appeal against new U.S. nuclear weapons in Western Europe, in favor of disarmament and the continuation of detente, by the major mass demonstrations in our country, in Berlin, Potsdam, Dresden and many other towns in support of peace.

The fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community is is the stable foundations on which our republic does the greatest possible service in the cause of peace. This alliance is inseparably linked with the secure prospects of our social development, the successess in implementing our ambitious goals as well as the effectiveness of our foreign policy approach. On the basis of this, the GDR is fulfilling its internationalist duty on the dividing-line between socialism and capitalism, between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO. It is contributing to the joint peace offensive through which the socialist community is striving to achieve concrete measures of arms limitation and disarmament in order to improve the international situation and continue detente.

In this respect, 1981 brought forth events of considerable importance. The start of negotiations between the Soviet Union and United States in Geneva on nuclear medium-range weapons must be mentioned in this respect, and for which the Soviet proposals created a favorable climate. A U.S. demonstration of its will to reach concrete results would be decisive. If one recalls that only recently it increased its arms budget to more than M460 billion and thus raised it to unprecedented heights, skepticism is certainly not unfounded.

We fully support the comprehensive program for securing peace which Leonid Brezhnev presented only recently during his visit to Bonn. It would be an act of reason and of great importance to farther-reaching regulations if both sides were to renounce, as he suggested, siting and modernizing the existing medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe as long as negotiations are in progress. As you know, the USSR would also be ready to make a unilateral concession and reduce part of its medium-range nuclear missiles sited in the European section of the country.

In contrast to imperialist politicians in the United States and elsewhere in NATO, for whom there are "more important things than peace," we, the GDR, have given priority in foreign policy goals to securing peace as mankind's greatest possession.

We shall keep unswervingly to this. We acted accordingly in 1981 and will continue to act so in future. The strengthening of the socialist community, on whose importance so much depends in the world arena, is decisive in this respect. At the same time, we are developing our relations with those states belonging to the capitalist hemisphere in a spirit of peace.

My meeting with the federal chancellor of the Federal Republic, Helmut Schmidt, a few weeks ago on Lake Werbellin, and its results, are of great importance and consequence, as was rightly noted by the international public. The vitality of the policy of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems is proving itself. In a complicated world situation, East-West dialogue was continued and deepened in order to preserve, consolidate and develop what has been achieved in Europe in the way of detente. I strongly drew attention to the dangers arising from the Brussels missile decision for peace on our continent and the peoples' security. At the same time, I stressed that it is difficult for good-neighborly relations to flourish in the shadow of new U.S. nuclear missiles.

No war should ever again emanate from German soil. What must also be prevented, however, is a new war turning German soil into a desert. It is in the interests of peace and the development of good neighborliness to develop relations between the GDR and the FRG in the internatinally usual manner between sovereign, independent and equal states. What has been achieved in relations between the GDR and the FRG can certainly be developed further, without concealing opposite views or differences, on the basis of the treaties and agreements concluded and according to the principles of peaceful coexistence.

If one looks at international developments in 1981 there were not only events which gave cause for concern but also those which aroused optimism. There was an unmistakable growth in the strength, power and international influence of the Soviet Union and the socialist community. This represents an important basic trend of our time which will not be checked even by setbacks.

With great attention and not without concern, the citizens of our republic have also been following the events in neighboring Poland. Measures meanwhile have been taken there which are aimed at defending the country against attacks by internal and external counter-revolution and leading it out of the crisis, reestablishing calm and order. These measures are an internal affair of Poland. Together with Poland, we strongly reject all attempts at interference. We reaffirm our firm solidarity with the fraternal Polish people with all genuine communists and true patriots of Poland in their struggle to solve the tasks in consolidating the socialist order and thus peace and security on the European Continent. Poland, an important link in our alliance, was, is and will remain socialist.

A new year lies before us and we have undertaken a great deal. In the 5-year plan, each year has its own importance. But if any one year is especially important for the success of the whole, then it is 1982. Many important demands are adding up this year. More than ever, our high growth rates are based on improved labor efficiency. The produced national income will rise by 4.8 percent and industrial goods production by 5.1 percent, without more material or fuel being able to be used. Yes, the quantity of material and fuel will even be less than predicted at the 10th congress. What will be decisive therefore will be the increase in labor productivity, material economy, for which goals have been set as never before within a 1-year period, and a better cost-benefit ratio in all sectors.

In order to achieve such progress it is necessary to utilize all reserves, great and small. The most important basis for the planned development is in scientific-technological progress, in its more rapid development and higher level, in its comprehensive economic application for top-quality products and technologies. Anyone who wants to master the plan tasks must join with science.

In the new year, we will further deepen cooperation with the Soviet Union particularly in the progressive fields of industry. The progressive integration of our economies is of the greatest importance for combining the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution. At the same time, socialist integration with the other CEMA member countrirs is making fresh progress.

We are securing a high growth in the performance rate which is absolutely necessary for continuing necessary for continuing consistenly the policy of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy. In 1982 and the years thereafter, our policy for the well-being of the people will therefore be characterized by continuity. To mention but a few points: some 179,000 apartments are to be built or modernized next year, the population's income is to increase, like retail trade turnover, by 4 percent while prices for basic commodity goods remain stable. The principle strictly applies in this respect that we can only consume what first we have produced.

Inventiveness and quality work are among the traditions, the special cultivation of which is facilitated and required by socialism. Only in our society, which does not know exploitation and profitmaking, can everyone be certain that the results of his work will wholly and fully benefit the people, his family and himself. Personal efforts for the well-being of society is held in high regard by us. Particularly in these times of tempestuous international conflicts, more and more people rightly see this as their own important service for peace.

Our plans are based on a high degree of involvement on the part of the workers. What we have undertaken requires a great deal of community work stretching from the drawing board and laboratory to every job where new products and processes are used and where work is done in an economic and efficient manner. More even than before, we need attention paid to the working and living conditions of the people.

We need the ideas, critical tips and suggestions of the workers whose knowledge and experience are our most valuable treasure. In this way, the competition commitments for the new year were created and only in this way can they become reality.

Let us therefore tackle together the tasks of the new year with a sense of responsibility, determination and enthusiasm. This will bring us an important step closer to the goals decided by the 10th SED Congress. May 1982 be a year of creative and productive work for the well-being of the people, a year of successful struggle for peace and socialism.

MEDIA REPORTAGE ON AID TO POLAND, DAILY EVENTS

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND Summary

AU311509 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 30 Dec 81 on pages 1, 2 carries a 550-word ADN report on the international press conference of Brig Gen Tadeusz Szacilo, deputy head of the Political Main Administration of the Polish Army, on Tuesday; on PAP reports on the decision of the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers; on the appeal of the Military Council to the farmers, and on media reports on the "increasing stabilization of the social discipline."

The same paper carries on page 1 two 80-word ADN reports, one stating the detainment of 12"'Solidarity' counterrevolutionaries" on Tuesday; and the second on an interview of Mieczyslaw Obiedzinski, deputy minister of defense, with Warsaw Radio.

Also on page 1 there is a 120-word ADN disptach on a TASS report on the meeting between Arthur Hartman, U.S. ambassador to the USSR, and USSR Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, stating that the ambassador was told "that the U.S. Government must stop its interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state."

On page 2 the paper carries an 800-word ADN report on the international press conference of Brigadier General Tadeusz Szacilo, deputy head of the Political Main Administration of the Polish Army. According to ADN, Szacilo referred to the causes which brought about the state of emergency, to the events in the "Piast" and "Ziemowit" mines, to the relationship between party and Military Council, to Walesa who "has a status other than the interned people," and to the sanctions of U.S. President Reagan against Poland stating that economic sanctions are a two-edged weapon." The report also refers to government spokesman Urban, who critiziced the Western media for their reports on Poland and reaffirmed that the government will keep to "the principle of national understanding on the basis of socialism."

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND also carries on page 2 a 200-word ADN dispatch on a talk by Malgorzata Rosiecka, party secretary in the Warsaw "Cora" ready-made clothes enterprise, with the Warsaw ADN correspondent in which she stresses that the "members of the PZPR enterprise organization will fulfill expectations," and expresses thanks for the GDR aid shipments.

Also on page 2 there is a 190-word ADN dispatch on a correspondents' report in Pravda of 29 January on talks with working people of a Warsaw machine factory.

Also on page 2 there is a 550-word ADN/ND report on the various activities to provide solidarity aid for Poland.

Workers Contribute to Aid Fund

LD311208 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1009 GMT 31 Dec 81

[Text] Berlin, 31 Dec (ADN) -- GDR citizens today continue to transfer more donations to the appropriate account in solidarity with People's Poland. For example, Gera factory workers donated M30,000. Workers at the Schoenebeck tractor plant in Magdeburg Bezirk sent M36,000. while workers at agricultural factories in Neubrandenburg Kreis paid M54,000.

Artists of the Cottbus Bezirk have donated M5,300 during the past few days. Teachers of Dresden Kreis donated M230,000 to the solidarity fund. Dresden Technical University donated M83,000. The members of the Greifswald Ernst Moritz Arndt University (Rostock Bezirk) have so far paid in more than M15,000 to the special account. With donations of more than M32,000, 91 housing kreis committees of the Gera Bezirk National Front reaffirmed their solidarity with our neighbors.

Jaruzelski Visits Army Units

LD031054 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 2 Jan 82

[Text] Army Gen Jaruzelski, chairman of the Military Council, and General Siwicki, deputy defense minister, have expressed the conviction that Polish soldiers will as before carry out with honor their responsible services for the defense of the socialist homeland. Jaruzelski and Siwicki visited army units on New Year's Eve.

BERLINER ZEITUNG CRITICIZES U.S. 'PROPAGANDA'

AU311752 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 29 Dec 81 p 4

[Article by Manfred Quiring: "Offensive of U.S. Propaganda"]

[Summary] The purpose of the new U.S. propaganda campaign termed with a strange sense of humor "project truth" is to counteract alleged Soviet "false information." "The State Department, the Pentagon and typically enough, the CIA are the information sources for newly appointed ICA Director Wick and his staff. 'It is possible to go back to a real treasure chest of facts,' a leading staff worker of the agency rejoiced."

A few pearls from this treasure chest have already been made public. "But they proved to be very shortlived each time in the past. Thus, the assertion about the alleged use of chemical weapons by the Soviets in Afghanistan foundered in the face of the facts presented at a press conference in Kabul: the bombs with poisonous substances channeled into Afghanistan and found on bandits were unambiguously of American origin.

"The imputation that the West European peace movement is 'steered by Moscow' was a bit too much even for some dyed-in-the wool ICA staffers."

But despite this, there are always new fabrications being spread, for example, in the broadcasts of the "Voice of America" whose new deputy program director Philip Nicolaides stated that the news should be objectively correct but that this principle could be disregarded in those cases where it would be an impairment. "Strictly speaking this means nothing else but that the socialist world is to be inundated with a flood of slanders, whereas the Washington policy of confrontation and threats will be concealed in all parts of the world or changed into generous actions."

According to the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, Nicolaides referred in this context to the efforts to destabilize the Soviet Union and its allies.

BRIEFS

AID GOODS TO POLAND -- Berlin, 3 Jan (ADN) -- More aid goods for the People's Republic of Poland left GDR towns on Sunday. A truck convoy from Suhl Bezirk is carrying more than 40 tons of food and products from the domestic chemical industry to neighboring Poland. It is the fourth convoy of aid goods from this area for the citizens of the twinned region of Leszno. The sixth convoy of aid goods from Gera Bezirk arrived on Sunday in its twinned region of Skierniewice. The eight truck-trailers are loaded with foodstuffs and domestic chemicals. [Text] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1640 GMT 3 Jan 82 LD]

PRESIDENT LOSONCZI ISSUES NEW YEAR MESSAGE

LD011456 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1105 GMT 1 Jan 82

[New Year's message by Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council and MSZMP Central Committee Politburo member -- live or recorded]

[Text] Esteemed compatriots, dear comrades. We are greeting a new year. At such a time, in keeping with our custom, we prepare a balance sheet for the past year and express our good wishes to each other for the new year. What was the past year like? It cannot be said to have been either better or worse than any other year. It was the continuation of the work which we have been pursuing for 25 years in the spirit of our well-tried and proven policy. We commemorated, deservedly, our quarter century, rich in achievements, and others commemorated it too. We can say with a clear conscience that while a lot has happened in the world, and we had plenty to do at home as well, our development was uninterrupted. We can view the results of this quarter century with a clear conscience, both now and also before the coming generations.

Our national economy, despite the more severe international conditions, continued to strengthen. Now we have to work in a new way, in accordance with new demands. In our economy the first results of our efforts are already appearing. In accordance with our two main objectives, the foreign trade balance has improved and we have maintained our standard of living. Even beyond our borders people recognize our country's political, economic and social achievements. A tangible sign of this is that the external market, in spite of the world economic recession, receives our products with growing confidence.

On this occasion, on behalf of the party and state leadership, I thank our working class, our cooperative peasantry, our intelligentsia, all other strata of our society, all our well-intentioned citizens, for the effort made in the interests of attaining the common great objectives.

My dear friends, we live in a world burdened with tensions. The external conditions for the realization of our plans did not improve last year. However, in the development of domestic work conditions, favorable changes can be perceived. In towns and villages alike the encouraging results of common thinking, of work done in common, of conscientiousness are multiplying. The political mood and the feeling of security are good; public life is active. Thus, in the course of attaining our national targets, everybody can also realize his or her personal ideas.

In our socialist society, policy is formed and raised to the rank of public concern by the joint efforts of the leadership and of public opinion. The well-tried policy of the MSZMP, the program of the Patriotic People's Front appeal to the minds and hearts of our entire working people. Hence the socialist national unity, formed in colorful debates, a unity which the various social strata, regardless of nationality, religious denomination, age and sex, feel and profess to be their own -- hence the happy result of political, economic and social stability.

Our achievements cannot be disupted, but we must beware of overestimating them. We all know how much we still have to do in leadership, in the direction of enterprises and institutions, in the development of society. Our socialist objectives, the realities of our economic situation and the situation of the world market oblige us in our work in 1982 to focus our main attention on accomplishing two major tasks: the further improvement of the foreign trade balance, and the maintenance of the standard of living, that is, the development of the calm, secure circumstances of our entire life. This is a realistic, realizable objective.

Dear comrades. In these days the problems of the world are growing. The achievements of detente have been put into danger. The reactionary forces of imperialism are striving to regain their lost positions. They would like to force their will onto the world with a military superiority. They do not want to realize that the peoples want to live freely, that the wheel of history cannot be turned back. The balance of power has been developed, and this guarantees that without the forces of progress and peace, or in spite of them, nothing can be done in the world today. Our opinion on the world's major issues is clear. We are committed believers in peace. In close unity with our friends and allies we do not spare our forces in the defense of the cause of detente, peace and progress. In the interest of this, our party and government will continue their active, wide-scale, international activity.

From the viewpoint of our peace, security and socialist development, it is especially important that we continue to foster our fraternal friendship, the development of our many-faceted cooperation, with the USSR and the other socialist countries. It is in this spirit that we greeted and support the steps taken by our Polish friends aimed at defending socialism and at internal pacification with the conviction that this is the best solution for the Polish people and also for the world.

The fundamental precepts of our people remain unaltered. The Hungarian People's Republic is faithful to its allies, is a friend of the former colonial peoples struggling for their national freedom and independent development, and, on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence, is a proper partner of the developed capitalist countries.

We are all occupied with the thought of what we can expect of the new year. Above all, peace. It is our firm conviction that the peace-loving forces will be able to prevent the heightening of international tension; The safeguarding of peace is a realistic possibility. We want to advance by increasing our socialist achievements. We must face the challenges of the world economy, of the world market. These demands confront us with ever more severe conditions. This constraining force is unpleasant at the moment, but in the long term it will help our development in the competition which we cannot avoid. In this situation we have to perform our work in a very disciplined and rational way. We have to manage even more thriftily and cleverly with our intellectual and material resources alike.

Esteemed comrades, my dear friends. We are progressing decidedly on the well-tried, correct road. Not without cares, but confidently. We cannot stop. Conscientiously, and by thinking together, we have to hasten positive changes. In the spirit of our policy, let us seek ever more rational solutions, effective methods of success. We look with confidence to the future because we build on firm foundations, on the efforts of our talented people, who strive for good. Closing our ranks even closer, we undertake our many common tasks. On the first day of the new year, on behalf of our party's Central Committee, the Presidential Council and the government, I wish all the citizens of our country, our entire Hungarian people, all our friends, a happy and peaceful new year, rich in achievements.

U.S. SANCTIONS CRITICIZED BY NEPSZABADSAG

LD311802 Budapest MTI in English 1700 GMT 31 Dec 81

[Text] Budapest, 30 Dec (MTI) -- NEPSZABADSAG carries an article entitled "Who Is Interfering?" in its Thursday issue commenting on the latest sanctions against Poland and the Soviet Union announced by U.S. President Reagan under the sham pretext of the emergency in Poland but veritably due to the normalization being experienced in the European country following the introduction of emergency.

The daily recalls that the American leaders cautioned Poland against external interference only as long as "chaos ruled there and suicidal strikes pushed the economy ever deeper into abyss....

"But the moment the Poles effected measures in earnest to consolidate their own situation, whatever was Poland's sacred and inviolable internal affair till then ceased to be so for the U.S. leaders," continues the article. "As the process of internal normalization progressed, the stand of the capitalist world's extremist conservative forces about intervention became modified. Initially an attempt was made to pressurize the Polish leadership only by withholding the promised food supplies to Poland. Now however, at attempt is afoot to put Poland virtually under a blockade. A part of this attempt is the absurdity to effect measures against the Soviet Union because it has voiced its agreement with the introduction of emergency in Poland. It is a grave step to make the Polish problem an international issue with the manifest aim of putting the European allies of the United States under pressure even at the cost of exposing the Western alliance to a fresh cohesion test.

"Obviously the economic sanctions announced by the U.S. President in themselves cannot cause any major problem for the Soviet Union. Neverthless, in the context of the international situation, this absurdity -- sanctions against the Soviet Union, for it 'dared' to express its agreement with what is disapproved by the present U.S. leadership -- may cause grave damages in the world."

In this context, the article established: "The measures are capable of poisoning the atmosphere in West Europe and in the delicate Soviet-U.S. relationship, even if through this move Reagan has not succeeded in rallying the West Europeans and if it has evaded -- at least for the time being -- the Geneva talks.

"With its reckonings about Poland frustrated, the American leadership is now trying to create circumstances that would make solution difficult for Poland. It is trying to evolve international circumstance favourable for the extremist reactionaries of Poland. It is a clear interference in Polish domestic affairs and denial of all that the American leadership had professed in the earlier phase of the Polish crisis," points out the Budapest daily.

POLISH MINERS INTERVIEWED ON MARTIAL LAW

LD032126 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 3 Jan 82

[Text] Now here is a unique report from Poland. Gabor Nemes, Tibor Forrai and Akos Lovasz, our colleagues from the foreign political department of Hungarian television, are staying in Katowice at present. Their film report was shot at the Piast coalmine in the industrial and mining area of Silesia. Our viewers will probably recall that the miners' work stoppage in the last 2 weeks of 1981 was the longest in that place.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Were you underground during the strike?

[Unidentified miner in Polish with superimposed Hungarian translation] Yes, I was down there from the fourth shift onwards in the course of maintenance work, from Monday to Wednesday, right up until 11 o'clock.

[Reporter] Were you there as well?

[Another unidentified miner in Polish with superimposed translation] Yes, I was also down there from the fourth shift onwards, and I came up to the surface on Wednesday morning.

[Reporter] Why had you decided earlier to go down?

[Miner] Well, we just showed up for work and so we went down to work. We had no idea at all that some sort of protest action was underway. So, we went down and we were then directed to go to those who were taking part in the protest. We joined them but this did not last long, only a few days. Following the declaration of the state of emergency we should have been informed honestly and in detail at all the enterprises in the country that had been declared to be under military control, such as the Piast coalmine, as to what it really meant to have an enterprise declared to be an enterprise under military control. Most of the collective at our place consists of people who, because they work in the mines, have never been called up for military service. There should have been an explanation as to what "the state of emergency" really meant. However, this did not happen at our place and this was maybe the reason for this protest action and for strikes at other mines, too.

[Reporter] Does everyone now understand and know what a state of emergency really means?

[Miner] Well, I believe everyone has by now understood what the state of emergency means, and we have also become acquainted with the coercive measures that have been taken. In my view everyone is now beginning to understand the current state of our country.

[Reporter] And you, Comrade Major, how do you assess your own role in the operation of this mine?

[Unidentified major in Polish with superimposed translation] Following the establishment of the Military Council of National Salvation, commissaries have been sent to mines and other state enterprises to carry out primarily those tasks that require organization and initiative. They must ensure the smooth running of the state administrative organs and of various economic units. The securing of order and calm and the creation of living conditions, which are not always pleasant in the circumstances of the state of emergency, are another issue that is very significant for citizens. [end recording]

BRIEFS

COALMINING PLAN FULFILLMENT -- In the Wednesday morning shift, Hungarian coalminers fulfilled their annual plan of 25.5 million tons. Thus, in the remaining days of the year they are to bring up some 500,000 tons of coal, instead of the 200,000 they pledged to earlier, above the plan. The industry has been overfulfilling its plan for years, but then there were always individual enterprises falling short of it. The result of this year is all the more remarkable as no mining district will end the year with deficit. [Excerpt] [Budapest MTI in English 1721 GMT 23 Dec 81 LD]

DISMANTLEMENT OF TRUSTS -- Four more trusts will be dismantled in Hungary as from January 1, 1982 at (?those grouping plants) in poultry industry, canning and beer production, and the one in charge of supplies for agriculture. The constituent units will get autonomy and will come under the direct supervision of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food. These trusts are dismantled in order to streamline the organization of Hungarian food industry and render this sector more flexible. Four other trusts in food industry have already been dismantled. The sub-units are now independent and have shown good performance. The dismantling of the above-mentioned four trusts in this January will give autonomy for 47 food industry plants. Measures are taken to assure employment for the workforce released by the dismantling of the trusts. The dismantling of these trusts will make reorganization in that sector complete. No more trusts are to be dismantled there. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1039 GMT 21 Dec 81 LD]

ANNOUNCEMENT, EXPLANATION OF PRICE INCREASES

Free Prices Structure Outlined

LD311930 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 31 Dec 81

[Message from Deputy Premier Janusz Obodowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers Economic Committee, to directors of state enterprises, managers of small manufacturing establishments and managers of cooperative production and service enterprises -- date not given]

[Text] In accordance with the Council of Ministers resolution of 30 November 1981 concerning the principles of the activities of state enterprises in 1982, the prices of a considerable number of goods purchased by the population will be established independently by producers and by trade enterprises as relative and free prices beginning 1 January 1982. This is the essential principle of the new economic mechanism. At the same time we must take into account the need to protect the budgets of the majority of families and to limit inflationary trends in the national economy.

In this situation the Council of Ministers Economic Committee Presidium, in accordance with the recommendation of the Military Council of National Salvation, draws attention to the fact that the principle of the independent establishment of prices by retailers cannot mean absolute freedom of decision. It is particularly necessary to adapt the prices policy to the current requirements of the country's social, economic, and political situation.

In this connection the right to determine and raise prices should be exercised with moderation. This means that the prices of individual goods in 1982 should not in principle exceed the level derived from the cost of production, the valid rate of turnover tax and the necessary profits.

This principle should apply not only to the prices of market goods but also to the relative prices of supply materials which have a decisive impact on the cost of the end product. When setting prices it is necessary to calculate honestly one's own costs and to take action toward lowering these costs.

The Economic Committee's resolution instructs the relevant agencies of the Ministry of Finance and of the State Price Commission to introduce a method of control over the establishment of prices by producers, as well as to deduct the necessary sums as sanctions in the event of retailers exploiting their monopoly position and attempting to obtain profits excessively greater than the average level, and also in the event of a dishonest calculation of their costs.

Press Conference on New Prices

LD021710 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1600 GMT 2 Jan 82

[Text] A press conference has been held at the office of the Council of Ministers at which journalists were informed on the reform of prices of supplies to the national economy and the proposed changes of retail prices of foodstuffs, fuels and power. The principles of compensation were also presented.

The new prices of supplies to industry in force as from today are an important element of economic reform. The new prices are much higher than those applied last year but the journalists were assured that the increases will not result in a direct rise in retail prices.

State Price Commission chairman, Prof Zdzislaw Krasinski, outlined at today's press conference the new structure of the proposed changes of retail prices of foodstuffs, fuels and power as well as the system of compensations. Consultations on the subject will continue until 15 January.

A pamphlet is already available at the "Ruch" kiosks. We shall inform you more fully about the new system of prices in our next bulletin.

Retail Price Increases Outlined

LD022000 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 2 Jan 82

[Correspondent Lechoslaw Janowicz report]

[Excerpt] A press conference has been held at the office of the Council of Ministers on the proposed changes in the retail prices of foodstuffs, fuel and power and the system of compensations for the population. The conference was attended by Minister Prof Zdzislaw Krasinski, chairman of the State Prices Commission; Deputy Minister Wojciech Prus, also of the State Price Commission; Deputy Minister Bronislaw Cias, of the Ministry of Finance; Deputy Minister Krzysztof Gorski of the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs; and Zdzislaw Pakula, deputy chairman of the Polish National Bank.

It was stressed during the conference that the proposed changes in the retail prices of basic foodstuffs, fuel and power constitute only one of the elements of the general process of changes in the system of prices. However, it is particularly significant for the broadest sections of the population, because expenditure on food constitutes the biggest item in the family budget. It was also explained that the proposed changes in prices and the proposed compensation concern only foodstuffs and power commodities whose prices have hitherto not been officially fixed or altered. The prices of foodstuffs which are determined on the free market, such as vegetables or fruit, for instance, are unaffected.

Before the conference the journalists received a pamphlet recently issued by the State Price Commission. Here are a few examples quoted from it at random: Sugar, hitherto 10.50 zloty [Z] per 1 kg, is to cost Z46; butter, hitherto Z17 per 1/4 kg, is to cost Z60. Cooked ham, Z180 per kg, is to cost Z550; beef on the bone, hitherto Z30 per 1 kg, is to cost Z100; ordinary sausage, hitherto Z44 per 1 kg, is to cost Z190; strawberry jam, highly sweetened, hitherto Z23 per jar, is to cost Z50. These are the proposed prices of some foodstuffs. Now for fuel and power prices.

The quality heating coal, hitherto Z550 per ton, will be Z2,000; electricity, the previous national price of Z0.90 per kWh will be Z2.20 per kWh; finally, the supply of hot water: the charge calculated per square meter of living space of apartments hitherto was Z0.90, the proposed new charge is Z3.

Price Compensation System

LD022008 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 2 Jan 82

[Excerpts] A press conference was held today at the office of the Council of Ministers on the proposed price increases for foodstuffs, fuel and power and the system of compensation which will be introduced.

It was stated that approximately 1/2 of market goods will be sold at unregulated prices; the remainder will be sold at official, regulated prices which will apply in particular to commodities of fundamental importance for family budgets. The proposed price increases are so structured that the total sum of compensations will fully match the total increase in the cost of living. This does not mean that full cover will be provided for every individual purchaser. The compensation system is biased in favour of families with the lowest incomes and with many children.

The State Price Commission has announced that compensation is to be paid in advance with regard to articles of personal hygiene, increased local transportation fares, clothes and footwear for children up to the age of 15 and basic school aids. A system of flexible compensation which varies according to price increases is being devised at the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs.

JABLONSKI GIVES ADDRESS TO NATION 31 DEC

LD312004 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1900 GMT 31 Dec 81

[Address to the nation by Prof Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Council of State -- live or recorded]

[Text] Compatriots, citizens of the Polish People's Republic, on New Year's Eve 1980, I stood before you; with profound anxiety I looked into the future. We are entering the new year without illusions and easy promises -- I said then, referring to the inevitable friction of divergent interests, opposing views, and the vast range of the tasks awaiting us. We all understood this situation and also the fact that only we ourselves can resolve our problems at political, economic and moral levels, and that the shape of tomorrow depends on us alone, on our sense of responsibility and on our work. There was in this a faith in the inexhaustible strength of the nation, in its instinct for self-preservation, which so many times has allowed it to emerge victoriously from the harshest trials which we have not been spared in its more than 1,000-year history.

Has this faith failed us? It is difficult in today's atmosphere to draw up a full account of the closing year. But when emotions die down, when the normal rate of work of the entire community is restored, we will be able to assess objectively how much has been done to implement the idea of socialist renewal.

We have carried out many important improvements in social policy; we have introduced, with increasing consistency, actions aimed at creating the political, legal and personal guarantees for preventing a repetition of the evil and distortions which existed before August 1980.

Its proper position has been returned to the Sejm and the regional representational organs have been restored to their proper positions. Several bills have been passed or prepared in the sphere of economy, the development of regional and cooperative self-government, of education and higher education. Important transformations have taken place in the sphere of culture, creating prospects for its further development. We have prepared a profound and bold reform of the management of the country's economy. We must not squander that which is the real achievement of the past year in all these actions.

In order that these salutary thoughts, programs and legal decisions might be most successfully introduced into everyday practice the idea of the front of national accord came into being.

The barrier to its realization was raised by those who strove for the disintegration of the entire state apparatus, who disrupted the national economy with constant strikes, and who jeopardized our alliances and, indirectly, the international correlation of forces which ensures peace on our continent. In the conditions of growing anarchy, crime was growing alarmingly, increasingly threatening the peace of people who, as it was, were already burdened with the difficulties of everyday life. And, alas, we were faced with the most horrible threat, civil war, with all its tragic consequences. And, as Wojciech Jaruzelski said in his Christmas Eve message, we had to choose between the lesser and the greater evils. This statement proves that all who made the decision made it with a heavy heart, treating it as the final resort.

The drama in the Wujek coal mine brought home to every Pole what could have awaited us. History is giving us lessons full of bitterness, which is also an element of the balance of the ending year. Let our sincere sympathy be with the bereaved families. Let us think with sorrow about the soldiers of the forces of order who were wounded in this tragic event. Let us do everything possible so that never again may something similar happen in our fatherland.

Compatriots, I have no right and I have no intention to teach any of you. I also know from my profession that no one has a monopoly of patriotism. Regardless of perspective, patriotism is always the same: the love and defense of Poland in concrete reality, the striving for its constant perfection and for the preservation of our national identity expressed in our own constantly developing culture and in the desire to be a just mother for all her children.

We may differ on 1,000 issues, but on what is most important for the nation and for all our families we can and must find agreement. Let us have courage to face up to the truth even when it is not as we would wish it to be.

The Polish soldier has stood guard over law and order in the Polish People's Republic; he is our grandson, son, or brother, flesh of our flesh, from our people. He has stood not against the people but in their defense and in defense of that which is our supreme good, our state.

I am an old man; I was lucky to experience the joy of regaining free Poland in 1918, and it is difficult to describe the bitterness of September [1939 when Germany invaded]. My generation knows from experience what for the people is their own state.

But I believe that every Polish patriot, irrespective of his age, can enter into the spirit of this. So let his heart prompt him as to what conclusions have to be drawn from the obvious truth that in the same way as there is no state without citizens then there are no civil and national rights without a state which guarantees and guards them. In order to be able to do this effectively the state has to be strong, law-abiding and just. This thought guided us when we were undertaking the cause of socialist renewal and when we signed the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie agreements. It was from this thought that the concept of national accord grew. In this accord there is room for each one of us, for every individual and association of citizens who genuinely recognize the principles of our Constitution. The Catholic Church, whose social role we fully recognize, ought to occupy a worthy position in this accord. There is room here for other churches and denominational associations, for the independent trade unions, and social organizations.

The present period of stabilization is, unfortunately, connected with various troubles which are characteristic of martial law. Let us take advantage of this in order to eliminate from our public life evil and unjustness, to improve work organization, and to all constructive activities which will facilitate, when the conditions finally permit, the all-round development of socialist democracy. We all must contribute to this irrespective of our workplace. When all is said and done, it depends on all of us when the assurance of the Military Council of National Salvation to the effect that it will perform its duties no longer than required by internal calm and the security of the country will be fulfilled.

It is with this thought in mind that I offer words of gratitude to the officers and soldiers of the Polish Army and of the forces of public order for their selfless and exhausting duty, for their resolute attitude, which is also full of tact and good will, towards their co-citizens. To these words of gratitude I add my wishes to the effect that conditions which will enable them to return to their barracks and family homes might come about as quickly as possible.

I address cordial greetings to people doing the heaviest work, to the working class. Poland is counting on the fruits of your labor. May these fruits be used wisely, and may they be divided fairly. I wish success to Polish farmers. Do everything you can to fulfill your patriotic dity of feeding the nation. The new forms of rural self-management, the streamlining of administrative services, and increasing supplies of equipment and machinery will help you. However, most depends on you yourselves.

Great tasks face all sections of the Polish intelligentsia. It has gone down in the illustrious pages of our national history. It is the intelligentisa to which we are thankful for the development of our native culture even in times which were the most difficult for the nation. Today this patriotism is needed by Poland in particular -- a patriotism of heart and mind, of prudence and tolerance.

I address greetings and also a request to scientists, to my colleagues and teacher friends, to those who are creative in spiritual and material culture. May your activities serve the nation in the best way possible in its cause of overcoming the great mass of difficulties in the building of an orderly and just republic.

I address words of special good will to the young generation of Poles, both to those who linked their hopes and ardor to the process of socialist renewal and also to those who let themselves be led astray by false prophets, masters of demagogy no superficial truths. I understand your desires, complaints and troubles because for decades I lived as a teacher with young people. Believe me: Socialist Poland needs all of you, my young compatriots. The harsh necessity of the present conditions is that when calm prevails then socialist democracy can develop without any obstructions. The principle of this democracy is, after all, the active participation of all society. Your good and bad experiences, if well considered, will yield dividends. They will prove useful for yourselves, for all of us. They will prove useful to Poland, just like your qualifications, your energy, and your commendable thirst for justice.

I send cordial greetings to my compatriots scattered all over the world. We are grateful for your friendship and numerous initiatives for assistance to the homeland of your ancestors. I send best greetings and wishes to Poland's friends throughout the world. We are particularly grateful to our socialist allies for their understanding of our needs and their fraternal assistance. We will repay them with kindness and constant remembrance. We will repay with a persistent struggle for peace and the harmonious coexistence of nations.

Citizens, ahead of us there are still many worries and much toil before we extricate ourselves for good from the vicious circle of crises, before we restore the full splendor to the name of the republic. But we can attain this for the sake of all that is common and dear to all of us, provided we succeed in removing all that divides and weakens our energy. In the united effort of men of good will let us broaden the front of agreement and cooperation. Today, it is already broad enough to think about the future with optimism. I believe that every day will multiply its ranks. We will exploit the immeasurable possibilities of our nation so long as the prayer of Master Jan [Kochanowski, a 16th century poet] from Czarnolas is answered: "Endow us with peace and holy concord." Let this become the wish for all of us, for all Polish men and women.

REPORTAGE OF RAKOWSKI BONN VISIT, OTHER ACTIONS

TV Coverage of Bonn Trip

LD312038 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 31 Dec 81

[Text] In Bonn -- The visit of Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski and his talks with FRG Deputy Chancellor and Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs Hans-Dietrich Genscher. [sentence as heard] Deputy Premier Rakowski acquainted the head of FRG diplomacy with the sociopolitical and economic situation in Poland and the domestic and international factors affecting it. He also presented the Polish Government's views on the West's reaction to the events in Poland. Bilateral relations were also discussed.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski also met the deputy chairman of the SPD [Socialist Democratic Party of Germany], Hans-Jurgen Wischnewski, and the chairman of the parliamentary faction of the Free Democratic Party in the Bundestag, Wolfgang Mischnick.

Visit to FRG Outlined

LD020058 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0000 GMT 2 Jan 82

[Text] Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski paid a visit to Bonn on 30-31 December. He had talks with Hans-Dietrich Genscher, vice chancellor and foreign minister of the FRG; Hans-Juergen Wischnewski, deputy chairman of the SPD [Socialist Democratic Party of Germany]; Wolfgang Michnick, chairman of the FDP [Free Democratic Party] parliamentary group in the Bundestag as well as Alois Mertes, chairman of the parliamentary working group on foreign policy matters for the CDU/CSU [Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union]; and Wolf von Amerongen, chairman of the West German Chamber of Industry and Commerce.

Deputy Premier Rakowski outlined to the West Germans the Polish leadership's assessment of events that led to the need to introduce martial law in Poland, to put an end in this way to the growing anarchy and the inevitable fact of nearing a civil war.

The deputy premier at the same time emphasized that the state of martial law is not to be equated with military dictatorship. All government and parliamentary institutions are functioning in Poland. Solving the crisis is -- and will remain -- in the hands of the Polish leadership. At the same time, the deputy premier outlined the intent to continue with socioeconomic reforms in Poland. He emphasized that there cannot be a return to the period before August 1980, just as there can be no return to the period of anarchy before 13 December 1981.

Deputy Premier Rakowski said attempts on the part of the West to use economic restrictions against Poland are a manifestation of interference in the country's internal affairs.

The West Germans showed a great deal of interest. Deputy Premier Rakowski, in a conversation with a PAP journalist, stressed that even though the talks were firm and resolute, they turned out to be very useful. They should be assessed positively.

During the talks, the realistic position of the Federal Republic's Government was expressed. This continues the favorable relations between Warsaw and Bonn ever since the December 1970 treaty was signed.

DPA Coverage

For DPA reportage of the visit to the Federal Republic of Germany by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, see the Federal Republic of Germany section of the 31 December Western Europe DAILY REPORT.

Heads New Committee

LD311736 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 31 Dec 81

[Text] As we have already reported, a Council of Ministers Sociopolitical Committee has been created by a Council of Ministers resolution.

The committee has been created to ensure the efficient implementation of sociopolitical tasks by administrative organs during the period of martial law.

Among other things, the committee will be responsible for primary education, higher education, science, culture, problems of propaganda-informational activity, policy concerning the mass media, social policy, health care, social welfare and the cooperation of state organs with social and political organizations.

The committee is headed by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski. The committee also includes two deputy premiers and the heads of various ministries and of other state offices.

Meets With Krakow Professors

LD022022 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 2 Jan 82

[Text] A meeting between Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski and a group of professors from the Medical Academy in Krakow took place in the Council of Ministers offices today.

Principles governing the functioning of the academy during the period of martial law were discussed. Attention was drawn to the fact that there is a need to resume educational and scientific activities at higher educational establishments. It was stated that there is a need to continue legislative work on the draft higher education act, accompanied by extensive consultations with members of the scientific community. It was also stated that there is a need to verify the principles according to which science is being financed.

NEW GUIDELINES FOR LEGISLATIVE WORK ISSUED

LD010854 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 1 Jan 82

[Text] The Government Presidium has issued guidelines relating to the procedure of legislative work during the period of martial law. The aim of the guidelines is to speed up and simplify legislative work in matters of essential significance for the state and society. According to the guidelines, draft legal acts regulating matters that result from the introduction of martial law will be worked out by the appropriate ministers in consultation with the secretary of the Committee for National Defense. The appropriate minister passes on the draft legal acts which have been worked out to be agreed on by the ministers most concerned, and by the ministers of national defense, internal affairs, justice and the office of the Council of Ministers. It has also been determined that for the period for which martial law is in force, the obligation to submit draft legal acts to consultation with nonstate organs is suspended.

DETAILS OF DECREE ON FIRST CATEGORY EMPLOYMENT

LD012235 Warsaw PAP in English 2006 GMT 1 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 1 Jan (PAP) — Under a Council of Ministers decree of December 30, 1981, more than two million Polish workers, many more than hitherto, will benefit from special privileges accorded workers performing tasks classified as first category employment. Healthy hazards, work in conditions causing rapid physical exhaustion, high degree of occupational risks, and work requiring special physical and mental efficiency have been among the criteria taking into account during the compilation of the new list of hazardous occupations.

Employees classed in this category will qualify for retirement at the age of 60 and 55, men and women respectively. Disability pension for these employees will be increased by 5 percent.

In addition to teachers, among those who will benefit from the new regulations will be lorry and bus drivers, tram and trolly bus drivers, workers in brown coal mines and those employed at aluminum and cadmium processing. In the chemical industry, all workers who come in contact with toxic substances qualify for this category. In the light industry, workers employed in asbestos processing plants and workers in the printing industry exposed to the effect of lead and other harmful substances are in the first class category. Other employees in that category include radio-telegraphic operators, telephone and telex operators, as well as other communications workers. Also lake and river fishermen, workers employed in slaughter-houses and in meat processing plants will enjoy special benefits.

SEVERAL AGRICULTURAL BILLS SUBMITTED TO SEJM

LD030855 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 3 Jan 82

[Text] Several draft laws of great significance for agriculture and farmers have gone to the Sejm. These include the draft law on social insurance for private farmers, the draft laws on the merging of land and on protecting agricultural and forest lands, and the draft laws changing the law of the civil code and the law of the code of civil conduct have also been put before the government. [as heard] These laws are also connected with the (?draft) decree of the Council of Ministers changing the previous regulations relating to the transfer of ownership of agricultural estates [nieruchomosc rolna], (?applications for) their joint owndership and the inheritance of these estates.

AGRICULTURE MINISTER COMMENTS ON FOOD SUPPLIES

LD041004 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0630 GMT 4 Jan 82

[From the press review]

[Excerpt] The minister of agriculture and food economy, Jerzy Wojectki, quoted in an interview for DZIENNIK LUDOWY, expresses the view that including the export of meat from the Soviet Union, we can ensure this month that there will be complete coverage of coupons, although it will not be possible to make up arrears in this area. He also expresses the conviction that there will be a sufficient supply to the market of flour, groats and bread.

ROUND-UP OF PZPR OFFICIALS' RECENT ACTIVITIES

Barcikowski Interview

LD311504 Warsaw PAP in English 1420 GMT 31 Dec 81

[Text] Warsaw, 31 Dec (PAP) -- Member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, Kazimierz Barcikowski, told TRYBUNA LUDU:

"The last three weeks have shown how many true party activists we have. Not by reason of function or appointment, but guided by ideology, they have pooled their efforts and went to the people with what we value most -- with the honest party word, with the truth about the extent of danger to the national interest, with explanation of the purpose of restrictions imposed by martial law, and with readiness to offer help."

"Nothing of the 9th congress decisions, nothing of the intentions of the party which convened the congress, has been suspended," Kazimierz Barcikowski went on. "We have decided to put democratic principles into the practice of intra-party life, and we are not encountering any obstacles. We have decided to purge the party from opportunists, careerists and immoral people, and we should continue to do so. We have decided to work in such a manner as to build in the society respect and confidence for our idea not by means of commands and declarations, but through party practice at all levels and in all milieux. This is precisely what we must do now."

Next Barcikowski said that during preparations for the 9th PUWP congress a new body of young party activists has emerged.

"Exactly as there is no retreat from the democratic tranformations initiated in Poland, nor from the line of the 9th congress, there can be no stagnation in the party. This is not because such orders have been issued. But first and foremost this is due to the fact that the party itself, the party activists and members would not permit stagnation," said Kazimierz Barcikowski.

Labecki, Fiszbach in Gdansk

LD311236 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 31 Dec 81

[Text] A meeting of the Gdansk shipyard party and economic aktiv was held yesterday under the chairmanship of Jan Labecki, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the party Factory Committee. Tadeusz Fiszbach, first secretary of the voivodship committee also took part in the meeting. He outlined the current socio-economic situation and pointed out the tasks now facing the Gdansk Voivodship.

Tadeusz Fiszbach also met with the party aktiv of the culture and art community. Later, together with Gdansk Voivoda Jerzy Kolodziejski, he met with leaders of higher educational establishments of the Gdansk coastal region.

Aktivs Discuss Tasks

LD021524 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 2 Jan 82

[Text] Meetings are taking place with party aktivs at voivodship party organizations in the Pomeranian and Kujawy regions. During these meetings the main topic of discussion is the tasks of party members under conditions of martial law.

The dominant feature of the statements being made by those taking part in the meetings is the thesis that no party member can now be absent from the most sensitive places of work or from sociopolitical activities. Party organizations should instigate activities aimed at bringing the country out of the crisis, restoring order and normalizing the life of citizens.

These matters were discussed, among others, at conferences in Torun, Wloclawek and at many enterprises of Bydgoszcz Voivodship.

TRYBUNA LUDU INTERVIEWS CZYREK ON FOREIGN POLICY

LD311536 Warsaw PAP in English 1426 GMT 31 Dec 81

[Text] Warsaw, 31 Dec (PAP) -- In an interview for TRYBUNA LUDU, member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the PUWP CC, Foreign Minister Jozef Czyrek said:

"The chief task of the Polish foreign policy at the present moment is to ensure the most favourable external conditions, political and economic, for the efforts undertaken by us to overcome the crisis in Poland by our own means. Especially important for the implementation of this task is what Gen Wojcieh Jaruzelski called the cornerstone of the Polish raison d'etat and the guarantee of the inviolability of our frontiers. This means the inviolable Polish-Soviet alliance, and Poland's friendship and all-round cooperation with the USSR.

"It is important to reconstruct and to consolidate our place and our role of a durable link in the political and defensive alliance of the Warsaw treaty states and our active partnership in economic cooperation of socialist states, bilateral and multi-lateral in the CEMA framework.

"The consolidation of Polish-Soviet alliance, cooperation with the USSR and the strengthening of our position among socialist states, weakened by our failure to meet our economic obligations for one thing, are the fundamental premise of executing the main tasks in our work to create the most propitious conditions for overcoming the crisis.

"Poland shall be faithful to her traditional policy of peace, mutual understanding and equitable cooperation among nations," Czyrek said.

Sizing up foreign reactions to the introduction of martial law in Poland, Czyrek said:

"The U.S. Administration has adopted the sharpest stand. As is known, the U.S. President ordered steps designed to make our economic situation more difficult. We hear about attempts to dictate to us how we are to govern in our own country. In this connection, I would like to say that Poland wishes to maintain relations on equal footing with all states, but she can never accept interference in her internal affairs."

"Our ability to overcome the annoying crisis will in the end determine our standing. Precisely at this difficult moment we can convince ourselves who is extending a helpful hand. One cannot overestimate the importance of Poland's economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and other CEMA countries, and the vast role of the emergency assistance extended by these countries must be also born in mind," said Poland's Foreign Minister Jozef Czyrek.

He went on: "Taking up the tremendous and complex task of stabilizing and normalizing the situation in the country, we are not diminishing the scope of our activities in relations with foreign countries. We are doing this to continue and develop our traditional policy of dialogue, detente and cooperation with all states, especially the European ones, and with all political forces with whom we share concern for the peaceful development of Europe and the world.

"The idea is, through contacts and economic cooperation, to ensure the great possible utilization of our existing economic potential, and to restore and preserve our place in the international division of labour and our position in the international economic cooperation."

Poland will become a member of the U.N. Security Council as of January 1, 1982.

"Participation in the work of the Security Council will enable Poland to make an even more active and concrete contribution to the solution of the [word indistinct] problems of the contemporary world confronting the Security Council. This will further strengthen Poland's position in the international arena. As a member of the Security Council, we will act in accord with the interests of (?Poland) to help reduce tensions and international conflicts and extint [as received] hotbeds of unrest," said Minister Czyrek.

Referring to the Madrid conference, Czyrek said: "Chances are good for the Madrid conference to complete successfully its task early in 1982. The successful outcome of the conference would be adoption of the decision to prepare and convene a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe. Poland, in cooperation with her socialist allies and friends, will do her utmost to make this possible."

Referring to the Geneva negotiations and the Soviet-American contacts at high level Minister Czyrek stressed that they are undoubtedly a highly positive element in the development of the international situation. He said: "Poland is lending full support to Soviet initiatives aimed at detente and disarmament designed to rebuild the Soviet-American dialogue which plays the basic role in East-West relations," said Minister Czyrek. [sentence as received]

SD CHAIRMAN ENVISAGES NATIONAL ACCORD FRONT

LD312100 Warsaw PAP in English 2018 GMT 31 Dec 81

[Text] Warsaw, 31 Dec (PAP) -- KURIER POLSKI, the Democratic Party daily, has published a New Year's message of chairman of the DP CC, Vice-Premier Edward Kowalczyk. The message says among other things: It is a historical fact that a certain epoch has ended and a new one is being born in which socialism in Poland as a system of democracy will certainly be realized more efficiently, consistently, rapidly and justly. And we, members of the Democratic Party will be realizing more fully the modernly conceived principles of democracy in that economically and politically renewed socialist Polish state. This will be taking place in a loyal cooperation with our political allies with whom we will be creating the foundations of the front of national accord, and whose effort we will be backing up receiving in return an allied support.

"The Martial Council of National Redemption has assumed a difficult but also a historic responsibility of preserving the state existence of Poles, of restoring peace and order and of breaking up the 'scientifically' fanned political struggle, anarchy and disrepair engulfing nearly all the areas of our life.

"Our political and economic situation will certainly not become easy right away. Poland can count, however, on her unfailing friends -- our closest neighbours and nations which have chosen like ourselves the socialist road of development or which are friendly to us regardless of the socio-political differences. We must be prepared, however, also for hostile activities, political hypocrisy and desire to trade in our interests. We shall proudly repel this. We also have behind us the entire socialist camp, its military and economic might."

VARIOUS RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED, DISCUSSED

Housing Cooperatives Issue

LD311926 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 31 Dec 81

[Text] The Council of Ministers has adopted a resolution on liquidating the financial effects arising for cooperative housing as a result of the reform of supply prices of raw and other materials, other means of production, and payments for energy and goods transport.

According to the decisions of the resolution, the housing cooperatives will receive allocations from the state budget for covering the increase in the payments and cost of maintaining residential buildings. The state allocations will be granted until the introduction of systematic solutions in the housing policy.

Thus the rents for cooperative apartments will not be changed. The press will publish details.

Teachers' Draft Bill

LD020000 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 1 Jan 82

[Text] As noted in previous announcements, the premier, Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, has signed a Council of Ministers resolution on the introduction of adopted provisions in the draft bill on the teachers' charter.

According to the government press office, the resolution constitutes and essential factor in efforts toward strengthening the standing and social prestige of teachers and toward improving the state of education in our country. The government resolution aims to minimize as much as possible the limits in social entitlements of teachers and does not infringe upon rights which transpire from the charter.

The government had decided to adopt numerous favorable provisions contained in the draft which were approved by the Sejm Commissions of Education and Upbringing, and endorsed by legislative work. The provisions envisage the average salary of engineering and technical workers as the basic criterion defining the level of salaries for teachers, provide long-service supplement and periodic bonuses from 20, 25 and 30 years service, reduce the time for promotion from 4 to 2 years and increase the number of promotions. They also create benefits for teachers willing to work in the countryside and in regions where there is a shortage of teachers.

Some teachers' entitlements contained in the draft bill, for example, concerning payments for overtime, will be implemented by the government resolution beginning September 1981. Funds for that purpose were allocated in last year's budget of the Ministry of Education.

The government resolution will authorize most of the charter's provisions with the exception of a few which cannot be accepted during the martial law, particularly concerning the question of cooperation between the administration and the trade unions, and also provisions which should be linked with general principles in force in a socialized economy. It is impossible to foresee how these will finally be settled.

Permits for Holiday Parties

LD311202 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 31 Dec 81

[Text] The socioadministrative department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs has announced that family New Year's Eve parties do not require a permit. Bigger New Year's Eve parties, even if held in private residences, require a permit in accordance with the martial law regulations.

State Amalgamations Dissolved

LD020010 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 1 Jan 82

[Text] Beginning 1 January 1982 the amalgamations of state enterprises which have existed hitherto are being dissolved. The decision to abolish the intermediate management bodies was contained in the law on state enterprises. An executive order on this matter was issued recently by the Council of Ministers. The introduction of the new regulations does not mean that the several scores of thousands of the personnel of the amalgamations will become unemployed. They will be engaged in work concerned with the closing down of the activities of the system, which will last 6 months. The amalgamations are also obliged to complete work connected with the reform of prices of supplies and investments; they will also hand over their property to other state enterprises, or else will put up for sale their remaining durable or other assets. The amalgamations will wind up their activities on 30 June 1982.

After the introduction of martial law a list was published of organizational units of the state administration and national economy covered by the militarization procedure. Many amalgamations were included in the list. The regulations of the above-mentioned Council of Ministers resolution do not apply to these amalgamations. The Council of Ministers has also prepared the principles of the functioning of the national economy during the period of martial law. It is envisaged that plenipotentiaries will be appointed for matters connected with operational programs. Their tasks will include certain functions which have hitherto been carried out by the amalgamations.

CULTURE MINISTER ADDRESSES PARLIAMENTARY BODY

LD011350 Warsaw International Service in English 1230 GMT 1 Jan 82

[Text] The minister of culture, Jozef Tejchma, has met with members of the standing parliamentary committee for culture and the arts. He briefed the deputies on current activities undertaken in conditions of martial law, especially those relating to the publishing industry, the functioning of the various cultural institutions and the system of assistance to artists. Much attention was devoted to the need to accord culture a position of importance in the overall pattern of undertakings connected with the economic reform.

MINISTER GREETS MILITIA, SECURITY SERVICES

LD010255 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 1 Jan 82

[Text] On the occasion of the New Year the minister of internal affairs, Lt Gen Czeslaw Kiszczak, has addressed letter with New Year wishes to the functionaries of the Citizens' Militia [MO] and the security service, border patrol soldiers and soldiers of the vistula units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and members of the MO's volunteer reserve.

Thanking them for the attitude displayed during the difficult year 1981 and for selflessness and devotion to the cause of socialism, as expressed in exemplary performance of tasks under conditions of martial law, the minister said: The restoration of order and discipline, respect for law and the norms of community life are the fundamental conditions for emerging from the crisis and for continuing the process of real socialist democratization and renewal begun in August 1981, from which there can be no retreat.

Directing expressions of profoundest esteem to the addresses of the letter, the minister of internal affairs appealed at the same time for further political maturity, steadfastness and psychic resistance to the campaign of calumny by internal enemies and their foreign sponsors [mocodawca].

Concluding the letter, Lt Gen Czeslaw Kiszczak expressed the conviction that the year 1982 would restore social calm and a complete normalization of life to the fatherland.

REPORTAGE OF CURRENT ECONOMIC SITUATION

Economic Statistics for 1981

LD031454 Warsaw PAP in English 1422 GMT 3 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Jan (PAP) -- Preliminary estimates say Poland's national income last year dropped by nearly 15 percent as compared with 1980, president of this country's Main Statistical Office Professor Wieslaw Sadowski told PAP. The national income distributed is estimated to have dropped by some 12 percent, which came as a result of the fact that the drop in Poland's imports last year was smaller than that in exports, Professor Sadowski said.

According to initial data, Polish exports last year dropped by some 14 percent, mainly due to a hard coal shortfall, and imports -- by 7 percent. Under the circumstances, extra imports from the socialist countries, the Soviet Union in particular, were of special significance for Poland.

In Poland's socialised industry, production sold was over 13 percent lower than a year ago, and the falling trend pertained to the majority of basic industrial goods.

The year 1981 saw a considerable improvement in the performance of this country's farming. As a result of good weather, total farm production last year went up by nearly 4 percent, as compared with 1980, including a 20-percent rise in plant production. Animal production, though, dropped by 14 percent. The livestock purchase fell by over 25 percent, milk purchase -- by nearly 8 percent, and [words indistinct] nearly 1 percent.

Basic production in socialized construction-and-assembly enterprises dropped by nearly 20 percent as compared with 1980.

Last year also saw further deepening of the imbalance between the supply and demand in this country's consumer market.

Deliveries of consumer goods last year, calculated in constant prices, were smaller by 10 percent than in 1980. according to initial estimates, Professor Sadowski said.

Good Start for 1982 Economy

LD032110 Warsaw PAP in English 2008 GMT 3 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Jan (PAP) -- The first days of the new year saw a good beginning in many domains of this country's economy.

Yesterday, on the first working day of 1982, Polish miners extracted 529,236 tonnes of hard coal, which makes a good record for a time between holidays, with the Piast and Ziemowit collieries still on the way towards using their full capacity. More than 479 thousand tonnes of coal were loaded on trains in Silesia yesterday, over 41 thousand tonnes more than was expected.

The sulphur mine of Jeziorko, the world's biggest mine of its kind, yesterday extracted 430 tonnes of sulphur more than scheduled, and likewise markedly exceeded its today's plan. Last year the mine recorded a 60,000 tonne surplus yield.

Today was also a busy day for the Adolf Warski shipyard in Szczecin, where 1,500 employees of the department dealing with the working of metal sheets, hulls construction, and outfitting secured conditions for resuming normal work. Yesterday was the last day of a guarantee check of the M/F Dmitri Shostakovich ferry, which the shipyard had constructed for a Soviet shipowner.

The new year also means a good beginning for the Szczecin-based Polish shipping company PZM, of whose 126 big bulk cargo carriers and tankers as many as 95 were at sea or at foreign ports today. The biggest traffic is recorded on the company's Atlantic line. The PZM considerably exceeded its last year's upwards-adjusted targets, as it freighted a total of 25 million tonnes of cargo. This year's plan provides for boosting by over 50 percent the freight between foreign ports of foreign customers' cargo.

The Stalowa Wola steel mill, the biggest plant in the Tarnobrzeg Voivodship, this year plans to boost by a formidable 21 per cent its foreign sales of building machines and subassemblies made within international co-production ventures. Its overall production plan for this year exceeds last year's tasks by several per cent. The plant is supposed to supply its Soviet customer with a total of 14.5 thousand gearboxes, 3 thousand more than last year, among others.

Statistics on Oil Imports

LD020333 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0300 GMT 2 Jan 82

[Summary] In the course of last year, Poland imported from the Soviet Union 13.2 million tons of oil, and obtained about 300,000 tons of oil from its own deposits. Poland's industry will receive a similar amount of oil for processing in 1982.

Lenin Steel Plant Production

LD020640 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0530 GMT 2 Jan 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Most of us passed the first day of 1982 in relaxation, visiting, taking walks. But 1 January was also a day of work in continuous work enterprises. For instance during the first two shifts at the Lenin steel plant 7,100 tons of steel were produced.

Transportation Working Normally

LD041040 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1000 GMT 4 Jan 82

[Text] The first full working day of the new year has begun. In the capital, all industrial plants and administrative offices are working. Urban transport is operating normally. This morning, 523 trams and 1,150 buses left the depots, a dozen or so more than envisaged. The lines served by coaches are becoming more and more popular. They link the suburbs with the city center. In the capital, 100 buses from travel enterprises are carrying passengers.

Since the morning, repair teams from communal enterprises have been repairing the roads, after almost a month of winter frost and snow. The surfaces of Warsaw's streets are not in the best condition making vehicle traffic difficult.

During the night, no serious breakdowns were noted (?in the city center).

Representatives of the health department of the city administrative office last night checked 12 clinics which are open 24 hours. They were working correctly and were well prepared for their tasks. Ambulances had more work than usual over the past 24 hours.

1981 Coal Extraction Figures

LD011528 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 1 Jan 82

[Text] The Ministry of Mining and Power Industry reports that preliminary assessments point to the fact that 163 million tons of hard coal were extracted last year. If one compares this amount with the statistical yearbook then one can see that this extraction level is closest to 1974 when 162 million tons were extracted.

However, if one takes into account the fact that mines worked day in and day out in 1974 whereas the present output was gained bascially in conditions of a 5-day working week with work-free Sundays and only voluntary work on Saturdays, then one must assess this result as being a very good one.

The amount of coal extracted on the last day of last year also testifies to the fact that the organization efforts that have been mounted in the ministry are effective. This amount was more than 510,000 tons. Bearing in mind that this was New Year's Eve and that the extraction capacities of certain mines have still not been fully set in motion, this result must be assessed as a good one.

Polish power stations, and this is again a preliminary assessment, generated almost 115 billion kWh last year. This is equivalent to the level before 1978. The coal reserves at power stations on the first day of the new year are enough for more than 12 working days.

2 Jan Coal Extraction Figures

LD031420 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 3 Jan 82

[Text] More than 96 percent of miners directly employed in extracting coal turned up for work on 2 January; 529,236 tons of coal were extracted. In the past 24 hours, Silesian railwaymen have loaded more than 479,000 tons of coal; however, 11 missing locomotives held back its transport. Seven of these locomotives were not supplied by the western directorate and four were not supplied by the central district directorate of the Polish State Railways (PDP). Today Rybnik coal basin miners have ordered wagons for loading 9,600 tons of coal.

The production sections of the Katowice steel plants worked without disruption.

ARRIVAL OF FOREIGN AID SUPPLIES REPORTED

Goods From CSSR

LD011300 Warsaw International Service in English 1230 GMT 1 Jan 82

[Text] Over the past 9 days over 500 tons of various goods, including 200 tons of foodstuffs, have been delivered to Poland from Czechoslovakia. Apart from the deliveries within the framework of intergovernmental agreements, mention must be made of deliveries from the border regions of Czechoslovakia to the nearby Polish provinces.

Soviet Goods Transloaded

LD011134 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 1 Jan 82

[Text] The new year saw thousands of railwaymen at work. As on every day, the border stations of Malaszewicze and Medyka were transloading goods from the Soviet Union. In Malaszewicze, 21,000 tons of goods were transloaded last night; and in Medyka, almost 30,000 tons.

More USSR Food, Supplies Arrive

LD031222 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1100 GMT 3 Jan 82

[Summary] The Ministry of Transportation reports that 479,000 tons of coal were dispatched from Silesia to other parts of the country yesterday. This is a very good result -- the best for a long time -- and is equivalent to the output of a normal day of good work. The border transshipping posts are also operating very well. Yesterday, for instance, 1,322 tons of meat arrived in Malaszewicze from the Soviet Union. On New Year's Day, 600 tons of rice and a great quantity of cotton arrived at the Geniusze and Siemiannowka posts from the USSR, and approximately 9,000 tons of goods were transloaded there yesterday.

Responsibility for Farm Co-ops

LD021004 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 2 Jan 82

[Text] As of 1 January a new financial and economic system in farm cooperatives and in cooperatives of agricultural circles will come into force. They guarantee these farming units complete independence, and at the same time entail for them the beginning of activity for which they themselves are responsible.

The new principles of management, based on cost accounting, which have been in force in state farms since 1 July last year, should favor a more effective exploitation of the productive and service potential as well as of the reserves which still exist in many spheres of economic activity.

Powerplants Working Normally

LD021054 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1000 GMT 2 Jan 82

[Text] The power industry has made a good start to the new year. There are no limitations to the power supply to consumers today and none are expected. All powerplants and power and heating plants are operating without disruption. The new fifth bloc at Polaniec, which reached full power during tests, is now being inspected again so that the minor flaws which were noticed can be remedied. It will be linked to the grid on 6 January.

At Belchatow, after commissioning tests, an inspection of the new 360mW bloc is in progress. It will be restarted today.

Repairs on Power Equipment

LD040405 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0300 GMT 4 Jan 82

[Text] This Saturday and Sunday the power industry worked without reductions. The stocks of coal in power stations and heat- and power-generating plants amount to 2.36 million tons, which in the winter period means covering the needs of 12 days. These stocks are being systematically replenished.

As our Katowice correspondent informs us, in all power stations of the southern district minor repairs on installations were carried out yesterday, exploiting the lower electricity requirement. The repair teams are doing everything to ensure that the dozen or so large turbine sets being subjected to inspection are switched into the national grid before the electricity peak this morning.

SCHOOL SEMESTER STARTS NORMALLY AFTER VACATION

LD041046 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1000 GMT 4 Jan 82

[Excerpt] After 20 days holiday, today is the first day of lessons in primary, secondary, technical and general schools.

Since this morning, many children have been in evidence on the streets, hurrying to school. School canteens will be operating normally today. Lessons are taking place according to the program approved for the school year 1981-92. For the time being, lessons on free Saturdays are not envisaged, although school directors have the right to organize additional lessons on that day, depending on the degree of implementation of the curriculum.

SOLIDARITY DOCUMENTS FOUND INSIDE CROSS

LD312026 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 31 Dec 81

[Text] The memorable June days of 1979 saw the visit of John Paul II to his homeland. In Warsaw's Zwyciestwa Square there was a solemn homily, the background formed by a modest altar and a cross several meters high. Two years later the same cross witnessed the solemn funeral of Primate Stefan Wyszynski.

Now the already historical cross stands next to the newly constructed church in Rzymowski Street in the Sluzewiec Przemyslowy district of Warsaw. Two days ago two schoolboys aged 11 and 15 entered the steel construction. They clambered up inside. In one of the shoulders they found a parcel wrapped in a sleeping bag. They told this to passing soldiers who reported it to the militia.

The records of the Works Solidarity of the Warsaw "Ewa" semiconductors factory were concealed in the cross. These included the union's files and records of admission to the union and of payments of contributions and also a great quantity of illegal printed matter, brochures and leaflets, including overtly anti-state, antisocialist and anti-Soviet publications directed at activists in all social groupings, including schoolchildren.

In the presence of three witnesses an official report was made at the place of discovery, which stated among other things that a box was found in the horizontal arms of the cross. It was filled with Solidarity documents and contained two parcels with "Krag" and independent publishing house publications. At about 2015 the local parish priest, Father Bogumil Sikorski, was invited and confirmed the above facts. Here is the priests' statement: I hereby certify that the information contained in the official note of 29 December is in agreement with the facts.

[Signed] Father Sikorski, parish priest.

MILITARY COUNCIL, FACTORY YOUTH ENVOYS MEET

LD311854 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 31 Dec 81

[Text] An honest and direct conversation took place today at a meeting between Lt Col Pilot Miroslaw Hermaszewski, member of the Military Council of National Salvation, and Jerzy Jaskierni, chairman of the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP], and the ZSMP aktiv at the Warsaw compact car factory. This factory youth organization is one of the largest in the country with a membership of approximately 1,800. Also taking part in the meeting were representatives of party echelons and the factory management.

The discussion was devoted to many social, political and production matters that are of importance today and to the place and role of young people in fulfilling tasks connected with martial law. The prospects of the work to be done by the youth organization were also discussed.

Miroslaw Hermaszewski pointed to the goals that the Military Council of National Salvation is setting for itself and stressed that the situation and problems worrying the young generation are being analyzed thoroughly. He stated that the fatherland is counting on the assistance and selflessness of young people and on their active participation in overcoming the crisis.

Those taking the floor during the meeting pointed out the need to make every effort to ensure that young people make genuine progress in life.

Much was said about the need to explain in a comradely manner phenomena that are taking place and about the struggle to win over young people the overwhelming majority of whom are worth a lot and who in many cases, because of a lack of proper political orientation, had taken part in destructive strikes. At the same time it was said that one cannot tolerate any attempts at revenge -- quite the opposite. One must help those who have lost their way so that they may find their proper place in life. A characteristic of the statements made was the linking up of general matters with specific matters pertaining to the factory.

CRAFT WORKERS COMPLAIN TO FINANCE MINISTER

LD022136 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 2 Jan 82

[Text] Finance Minister Marian Krzak has met with the leadership of the Central Union of Crafts and of the Supreme Council of the Association of Private Trading and Services. The meeting dealt with issues pertaining to the craft industries in the reformed economy, with the activities of the craft industries in the specific situation of martial law, and with work connected with the taxation system.

The government considers the craft industries and the sphere of private trading to be a permanent element of the socialist economic structure, Marian Krzak said, stressing that they should be guaranteed the appropriate conditions of development and the necessary stabilization. The principles of taxation policy in relation to the craft industries and also the forms of granting credits and preferences to newly started enterprises will be maintained while at the same time certain income tax flat rates will be implemented. The sphere of tax exemptions for all craft industry workers who set up new workshops will also be extended. High allowances for craft industry workers investing in their workshops will also be applied.

Minister Marian Krzak said that the imposition of martial law will not only not bring a stricter policy on the craft industries, but on the contrary greater economic and administrative discipline will promote the better implementation of the state's policy toward the craft industries.

Representatives of craft industry organizations drew attention, however, to the fact that martial law has caused some complications in their activities. Particularly burdensome are the restrictions relating to movement within Poland and the lack of telephone communications. It is estimated, for instance, that craft industry plants have goods available which are worth approximately Zl billion and which they cannot sell because of various difficulties. Craft industry workers performing services in private houses are hampered in their work because of the shortage of gasoline. Martial law has also made the activities of private hotel and catering services more difficult.

During the meeting much was said about the supply situation for the craft industries, and it was stressed that the principle of equal partnership should make it possible for craft industry workers to make better use of some raw materials, particularly waste materials from the socialized economy.

CODE STATES WORKERS TO BE PAID DURING STANDSTILLS

LD021158 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 2 Jan 82

[Text] A shortage of fuel, energy and raw materials is causing standstills in various enterprises and works. In accordance with the labor code, employees are entitled to remuneration according to their grades for the duration of a standstill. Taking into account the special nature of these standstills, it has been recommended that the following principles of remuneration be applied. Firstly, in cases in which other work is given the employee to do, the employee is entitled to the remuneration anticipated for this work, and no lower than remuneration for holidays, but excludes money due to overtime and remuneration supplements for night work, Sundays and holidays, or shift supplements. Secondly, if for the duration of the standstill no other work is given to the employee, he is entitled to remuneration based on his grade plus a supplement for time worked.

VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS SUPPORT MILITARY COUNCIL

LD020450 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0400 GMT 2 Jan 82

[Text] In the last few days many organizations, among them veterans' and youth organizations, have been making appeals in which, expressing support for the Military Council of National Salvation, they call on members of their milieus to undertake work and activity which will serve to normalize the situation in the country. Resolutions were adopted by, inter alia, the ZBOWID [Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy] Voivodship Board Presidiums in Warsaw and Bydgoszcz Voivodships, the ZBOWID Circle attached to the Ministry of Communications, and members of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] in Chojnice, Bydgoszcz Voivodship.

PAPER SHORTAGE THREATENS TOBACCO INDUSTRY

LD020501 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0400 GMT 2 Jan 82

[Text] During the last months of last year, the tobacco industry maintained relatively high production, amounting to about 7 billion cigarettes monthly, which was sufficient to cover the coupon supply in full. It seems, however, that this year, despite the successful purchase of domestic tobacco, the industry will have to struggle with serious problems in order to maintain production at the present level. Above all, there is a threat of a cigarette paper shortage. The industry is exhausting its last stocks, and if it does not receive the planned quantity of cigarette paper in the immediate future, [word indistinct] will have to reduce its production.

REPORTAGE OF JUDICIAL ACTIONS UNDER MARTIAL LAW

Court Sentences Published

AU311510 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Dec 81 p 5

[PAP report: "Ministry of Justice Information"]

[Text] According to the press spokesman of the Ministry of Justice, acting on the basis of the decree on martial law, courts have passed summary sentences, inter alia, upon the following cases:

By sentence of 24 December, passed on the basis of article 46, paragraph 2 of the decree on martial law, the Kozalin Voivodship Court sentenced Zdzislaw Beltkiewicz to 3 years and 6 months imprisonment, and Henryk Podsiadlo, Makary Kolas and Pawel Szumski to 3 years imprisonment. The court sentenced all of them to the deprivation of civil rights for a period of 2 years. Those sentenced were found guilty of conducting on 14 December, under the conditions of martial law, trade union activity in Bialogard, or organizing on the same day a sit-down strike at the Bialogard plant of the Unitra-Unitex association, and of leading the strike.

In line with the regulations, defendants are not entitled to appeal and the punishment is subject to immediate implementation.

The Nowy Sacz Voivodship Court sentenced Jerzy Lewcun on 23 December to 6 months imprisonment. As chairman of the Solidarity Factory Committee in the specialized orthopedic rehabilitation team for children, he continued under the conditions of martial law trade union activities, conducted a protest action, and called for strikes by means of placards.

The passing of such a sentence was possible because the court refrained from applying summary jurisdiction. The court substantiated this attitude by the fact that the degree of public danger was not high, because only an insignificant part of the collective showed willingness to join in the protest action.

The court endorsed the pre-trial detention.

Moreover, voivodship courts have filed the following summary cases:

The Krosno Voivodship Court has filed a bill of indictment against Adam Oberc who, as chairman of the Solidarity Factory Committee at the Polmo shock absorbers plant in Krosno, has been charged, on the basis of article 46, paragraph 2 of the 12 December 1981 decree, with continuing trade union activities despite the suspension of that union, and with organizing and leading a strike at the plant. The trial has been fixed for 29 December.

The same court has filed a bill of indictment against Jerzy Kuziam, chairman of the Solidarity Factory Committee at the Stomil rubberware factory in Sanok, who is charged with continuing Solidarity activity on 13 and 14 December, while organizing and leading a strike at the plant (article 46, paragraph 2 of the 12 December decree). The date of the trial has been fixed for 28 December.

The Bydgoszcz Voivodship Court has filed a bill of indictment against Witold Mikolajczyk. The charge against him is that, being in a state of intoxication, in the night 21-22 December he actively attacked the leader of a military patrol. After the identification, on the way to the militia station the accused offered resistance and hit the military patrolman in the face. The trial has been fixed for 29 December.

The Poznan Voivodship Court has filed a bill of indictment against Zbigniew Stecko and Jacek Oleksyn. The charge against them is that, as Solidarity aktivs, on 14 December they organized at the arboreal enterprise of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Kornik near Poznan a meeting in order to begin a protest action against the proclamation of military law (article 46, paragraph 2 of the decree on martial law).

31 Dec Summary Proceedings

LD011956 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 1 Jan 82

[Text] [Excerpts] On 31 December the courts handled more summary proceedings. Most of the sentences were handed down for crimes which under martial law conditions entail stricter penal consequences. They mostly relate to cases of burglary and to acts directed against officers of the Citizens' Militia and soldiers on duty.

Zielona Gora Voivodship Court sentenced (Jan Miszkiewicz) to 3 years deprivation of freedom and the loss of civic rights for 3 years for actively attacking and threatening soldiers carrying out official duties.

The regulations which, in connection with the martial law, permit summary proceedings and the subsequent stricter penal consequences authorize the courts, in cases that merit it especially, to waive summary proceedings. On the basis of this regulation -- article 46, paragraph 7, Plock Voivodship Court pronouncing the accused Remigiusz Krysiak guilty of action with which he was charged -- violation of article 46, paragraph 1 of the martial law decree -- waived the sentence altogether in view of the conduct of the accused who, after half an hour, had called off the strike and called on people to resume work.

During the court case, the accused expressed regret and contrition.

On 31 December, 40 other summary proceedings were initiated against 59 persons.

Szczepanski Trial Begins 5 Jan

LD012108 Warsaw PAP in English 2000 GMT 1 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 1 Jan (PAP) -- The trial of the former chairman of the committee for radio and television, Macieu Szczepanski, and other defendants will open at Warsaw Voivodship Court on January 5.

Investigation of the charges brought against him lasted several months. The investigators have established that Macieu Szczepanski and other former members of the radio and television committee took advantage of their office to obtain personal profits. Among other things, they accepted bribes from foreign firms, used the committee's employees for construction of their private houses, embezzled money and committed other offences.

Numerous journalists will be present at the trial.

Strike Organizers Arraigned

LD021754 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1600 GMT 2 Jan 82

[Statement issued by press spokesman of the Polish Prosecutor General's Office]

[Excerpts] In the past 3 days, in both the civilian and the military organizational units of the prosecutor's office, just as in the preceding days, there has been noted a decline in the number of proceedings initiated with regard to actions aimed against the fundamental interests of the state and its supreme organs. The number of investigations involving common criminal offences and dealt with under the summary proceedings system have not declined, however. Officials of the Public Prosecutor's office arrested 63 persons on charges of burglary and robbery; military prosecutor's officials arrested six persons on similar charges. Further investigations have also been launched in the case of persons who actively attacked Polish Army personnel while on duty or officials of the Citizens Militia engaged in the performance of their functions.

Officials of the military prosecutor's office arrested, among others, Zbigniew Bogacz, member of the Presidium of the National mining section of the NSZZ Solidarity National Commission, and Solidarity members (Andrzej Oczko), (Czeslaw Zawadzki), (Wieslaw Dudzinski) and (Andrzeu Machalica). They have all been charged with continuing trade union activities from 14 through December 1981, taking part in organizing and directing the strike at the Piast colliery, participating in the decision to block the exit shafts, coercing others by threats to refrain from work and supplying them with false information about the situation outside the colliery.

Public and military prosecutor's offices have sent to courts further acts of indictment under the summary tribunal procedures against a total of 105 persons.

[Signed] Stanislaw Momot, press spokesman of the Prosecutor General's Office

Five Sentenced

LD021950 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 2 Jan 82

[Text] We were informed a moment ago by PAP that the Katowice Voivodship Court has today heard the case against Wojciech Marusinski, Herbert Rennert, Zbigniew Sobolewski, Ryszard Bidzinski and Jan Legut, accused of continuing the trade union activities of NSZZ Solidarity, contrary to the decisions of the decree on the introduction of the state of martial law of 12 December 1981, by directing the sit-in strike at Katowice foundry.

The court found them guilty of stopping the normal operation of production processes at Katowice foundry, of causing considerable losses to the national economy, and of preventing the remainder of the workforce which did not take part in the strike from working. In this connection on the basis of summary procedure the court sentenced Wojciech Marusinski to 7 years of deprivation of freedom, a Z20,000 fine and the loss of civic rights for 4 years, because he prepared the communique and the appeals to the strikers calling on them to continue their strike.

Herbert Rennert was sentenced to 5 years and 6 months of deprivation of freedom, a Z15,000 fine and the loss of civic rights for 3 years because he organized and directed the stoppage of production equipment for the duration of the strike; Zbigniew Sobolewski to 6 years of deprivation of freedom, a Z15,000 fine and the loss of civic rights for 3 years, because he conducted information and propaganda activities during the strike; Ryszard Bidzinski to 4 years and 6 months of deprivation of freedom, a Z15,000 fine and the loss of civic rights of 3 years because he directed the sit-in stike of one part of the workforce in the steel plant section; Jan Legut to 3 years and 6 months of deprivation of freedom, a Z15,000 fine and the loss of civic rights for 2 years, because he organized the circulation of internal information among the sections on strike.

The sentences are in operation.

ECONOMIC OFFICIALS FIRED FOR FAILURES, ABUSES

LD030500 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0300 GMT 3 Jan 82

[Text] For inefficient direction of enterprises, the minister of construction and construction materials has recalled from their positions Zbigniew Jaronim, director of the geological, physiographic and geodetic construction enterprise "Geoprojekt" in Warsaw, and Jan Mlynarz, director of the steel construction plant in Chojnice.

The head of this ministry has recalled Jozef (?Szymczak), director of the Gliwice industrial construction enterprise, for not realizing investment projects.

In Slupsk Voivodship Jozef Radkowski, deputy chairman of the Peasants' Mutual Aid (Samopomoc Chlopska) Parish Cooperative in Glowczyce, and Zbigniew (?Osachowski), head of this cooperative's (?nautical) shop, have been recalled from their posts. They are accused of selling to unentitled persons goods which were earmarked for farmers within the framework of linked sales connected with the purchase of agricultural produce.

POPE JOHN PAUL II'S LETTER READ IN CHURCHES

LD031540 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 3 Jan 82

[Text] During Sunday mass today in all churches in Poland, a letter to the faithful was read from Pope John Paul II to mark this year's 600 anniversary of the Jasna Gora image.

In the letter, the pope refers to the words of the Bogurodzica hymn, one of the oldest written in our mother tongue. He points out the role of the image of the mother of God placed in Jasna Gora in 1382, which for 600 years has been for the Polish nation a most wonderful aid and defense.

In the jubilee year, we read in the letter, calling to mind various historical dates, we want to give thanks for the presence of the mother of God in the history of our nation. The period of history in which the 600th anniversary falls, the pope writes, dictates that we link gratitude with a fervent appeal. We want to renew our request to the mother of God to be particularly present in all that through which our present and our future is shaped. For, if everything which shapes our present-day life in the homeland bears the promising mark of renewal [odnowa], at the same time it is not free of difficultires, of threats. It is a time of some kind of test for Poles, not the first in history, but certainly new and different from the previous experiences and tests, which are not lacking in our history.

In the jubilee year of the Jasna Gora image, Pope John Paul II called the faithful to pray for the homeland in the words of the hymn, which has led whole generations, and gave them his blessing [word indistinct].

POPE'S PLEA FOR 'EARLY END' TO MARTIAL LAW

LD012006 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 1 Jan 82

[Excerpts] Pope John Paul II, speaking in the square outside St Peter's Basilica in Rome to 50,000 believers and tourists who crowded the square, thanked all those who had prayed for Poland and asked them to continue their prayers for an early end to the state of martial law in Poland.

In a message on the occasion of the world peace day, John Paul II also warned about the dreadful danger of nuclear war and called for efforts aimed at the achievement of nuclear disarmament. He expressed his hope that mankind will be spared wars and violence and that man would be able to live in peace. He also added that the issue of Poland is an important problem not only for our country but also on the scale of the history of mankind as a whole. He also expressed his hope that the heritage of human rights and true peace as well as the attainments of the past generations will not be wasted.

DEPUTY PREMIER RECEIVES CARITAS PRESIDENT

LD312114 Warsaw PAP in English 2028 GMT 31 Dec 81

[Text] Warsaw, 31 Dec (PAP) -- Deputy Prime Minister Jerzy Ozdowski received the president of the international federation Caritas, Prelate Georg Huessler, and Bishop Czeslaw Domin, chairman of the charity committee of the Polish Episcopate. During the meeting Vice-Premier Ozdowski expressed his thanks for the aid Caritas has so far given Poland in food, medicines and clothes. Further aid by this organization for children, elderly people and large families was also discussed.

MEDIA COMMENT ON REAGAN SPEECH, U.S. ACTIONS

Christmas Speech Criticized

AU311336 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Dec 81 p 7

[Jerzy Lobman commentary: "The President's Anti-Polish Carol" -- capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] ON CHRISTMAS EVE ITSELF PRESIDENT REAGAN DELIVERED A SPEECH TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. It was normal. Christmas is a time at which many statesmen share various circumstantial ideas with their fellow citizens, outline the prospects facing them and express good wishes. One would think that the president of a capitalist state had enough topics of interest for his fellow citizens, the destiny of world peace in the coming year for one.

HOWEVER, THE PRESIDENT CHOSE A DIFFERENT TOPIC. IT TURNED OUT THAT, ACCORDING TO HIM, THE SITUATION IN POLAND WAS THE CHRISTMAS SUBJECT THAT SHOULD HAVE INTERESTED THE AMERICANS MOST.

As long as there were manifestations of destabilization in our country and the crisis was getting worse, we heard numerous declarations from across the ocean about concern for the Polish people, about alleged famine. The Poles were assured of profound friendly feelings and of concern for our homes, children and old people. However, as soon as we said "enough" to anarchy, as soon as it turned out that Poland would no longer tolerate attacks against socialism and took constitutional steps to check the move toward the abyss, and as soon as the process of restoring order at home began, the President became irritated. He forgot that the United States is not the only sovereign state in the world, that other states have the right to adopt decisions on their destinies and on steps to be taken to attain their national goals. HE ALSO EVIDENTLY FORGOT THAT RESPECT FOR THE SOVEREIGNTY OF OTHERS IS THE FUNDAMENTAL OBLIGATION OF EVERY POLITICIAN IN GENERAL, AND WITH REGARD TO A COUNTRY MAINTAINING NORMAL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH HIS GOVERNMENT, MOREOVER, A COUNTRY WHOSE FRIEND HE HAS REPEATEDLY CLAIMED TO BE, IN PARTICULAR.

The President found it advisable to order steps aimed at aggravating our economic situation. Concern for Polish children and old people has somehow evaporated. The president is trying to deprive them of a part of the farm and dairy produce America was expected to deliver to us. He wants to restrict the areas in which Polish fishermen fish to deplete Polish tables.

He announced restrictions in credits which could, to some extent, help us improve our financial situation and thus (obviously, in addition to the interest) accelerate the repayment of our debts to Western, including American, creditors. He restricted our normal rights in the field of international air communications, rights accepted all over the world, and so forth. IT IS TO BE NOTED THAT ALL THOSE MOVES ARE NOT ONLY AN UNPRECEDENTED ATTEMPT TO EXERT PRESSURE ON OUR COUNTRY, BUT ALSO ARE CONCEIVED IN SUCH A WAY AS TO EFFECT THE DAILY LIVES OF THE SO-CALLED RANK AND FILE CITIZENS.

A further question arises in this context. In the past we have heard a great deal about friendly feelings for our country, allegedly dictated by the willingness to be generous with it. TODAY, WHEN WE UNDOUBTEDLY ARE IN NEED OF GENEROUS ASSISTANCE, IT TURNS OUT THAT ASSISTANCE IS ONLY A MEANS IN POLITICS -- POLITICS, LET US ADD THAT GO AGAINST OUR SYSTEM AND AGAINST OUR INDEPENDENT ACTIVITIES.

His own threats were not sufficient for Reagan. He also called on his allies to second the action initiated by him. The first reports received, for example, from Canada or the FRG show that he call will at least not be met with a willing response everywhere. It will be hindered not only by political culture, but also the interests of other countries.

AND ONE THING MORE. THE PRESIDENT MADE A POINT TO EXPAND HIS ANTI-POLISH ATTACKS ALSO TO THE SOVIET UNION, THUS REVEALING TO WHAT EXTENT IT WAS POLAND ITSELF THAT HE HAD IN MIND, SHOWING THAT AT BEST THE POLISH ISSUE MIGHT BE USEFUL TO HIM AS A PRETEXT IN A GREATER DESTRUCTIVE GAME WHICH HE IS INTENDING TO PLAY -- WITHOUT SUCCESS.

The Polish nation is experiencing difficult times. President Reagan has resolved to make them even more difficult. But we will endure them. WE HAVE EMERGED UNSCATHED FROM MANY HISTORICAL TROUBLES. WE HAVE SUFFICIENT WILL AND RESOLUTENESS OF OUR OWN TO DO THAT. WE ALSO HAVE TRUE FRIENDS.

Analyst Views Reagan Actions

LD032300 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 3 Jan 82

[Text of statement given to PAP by political analyst Dr Jerzy Muszynski; date not given -- read by announcer]

[Text] World public opinion, both that part favorably disposed toward Poland and the part which has never had any sympathy for the rule of the working people, has received with anxiety the sharp turn in the policy of the United States toward our country and in particular the personal involvement of President Ronald Reagan in actions taken against the legal authorities of the Polish People's Republic. The astonishment and anxiety of our friends and allies is obvious and understandable. It is enough, for instance, to examine the Soviet reaction to Reagan's attacks on Poland. The anxiety of the states which do not have a very favorable attitude toward us is caused by other factors -- mainly fear of further developments in world affairs which would not bode anything good for any state of our continent.

The fact that Reagan prefers instability to prevail in Poland, anarchistic feelings to spread and conflicts between the authorities and the antisocialist forces to grow cannot surprise anyone. Nor was there any surprise in his excessive interest in the internal affairs of Poland when the extremist activists of Solidarity and other antisocialist groups made preparations to take over power in Poland and sought ways to carry out counter-revolutionary changes in the political system. Reagan supported these people and their activities, since he is an ardent anticommunist and does not like the fact that socialism is firmly established in many countries and that the socialist community conducts in the international arena a policy which in many important areas does not coincide with what the leaders of the leading capitalist countries would like to impose on the world.

Reagan would like, with all his heart, eventually to abolish communist systems everywhere, and, if possible, to effect right now even a little step in this direction so that anticommunists everywhere can have the feeling that their commitment and efforts are not without meaning and have a chance of success. Such a chance was seen by the American President and other enemies of socialism in Poland. Their feelings and hopes were enhanced when the legalized NSZZ Solidarity began its activity. Looking at it objectively, this activity began to be directed against the foundations of the political system. When the leadership of this union came under the domination of open enemies of socialism, when systematic strike actions began to destroy our economy, when the first congress of Solidarity focused the attention of the whole world on the Polish anticommunist experiment, when the program adopted at this congress for the new trade union movement formulated an offensive against the constitutional system of the Polish People's Republic, and finally when the leadership of this movement decided to reach for power -- these tunes were pleasing to the anticommunist heart of Ronald Reagan and excited the dream that the institutions of the socialist system of Poland would fall apart.

Suddenly, all such tunes and voices were silenced; General Jaruzelski established a Military Council of National Salvation [MONS] and the Council of State adopted a decree on martial law in Poland. On the basis of the decree, the NSZZ Solidarity and other social organizations were suspended, as they had planned to create a political infrastructure [word indistinct] in Poland. The socialist army took control of various aspects of political life, and all this took place without the consent of even the knowledge of the American President.

Forgive me, ladies and gentlemen, this was too much: this was unbearable for Ronald Reagan, especially because the step taken by the Polish general began to bear fruit in the form of stabilization in various sectors of life. Only one tragic incident in the Wujek mine in Katowice involved deaths, and in Gdansk one person died following injuries received while participating in a demonstration which had been banned by the authorities.

Reagan decided to act only after spending a quiet weekend, that of 13 December, at Camp David, because the declaration of the martial law in Poland did not alarm him at the time. But he is a politician out of choice and not by vocation, and therefore his action could not be of just any kind, normal and worthy of a leader of state, even if such a state is hostile to communist Poland. It had to be a special kind of action, a big hit. A spectacular action worthy not only of Reagan the President, but Reagan the actor. This is not just irony, because we are dealing with serious matters. But the actions of Reagan cannot but inspire feelings typical to those who are watching a western, a western played on a political screen.

A few of the stunts of the U.S. President are something taken from a cowboy film. We see how he goes into action. We see the fearless action. On 17 December Ronald Reagan appeared on the screens in Washington stage-managing a press conference and spoke almost exclusively about the situation in Poland. He said that the army of General Jaruzelski and the security services had destroyed Solidarity and locked up thousands of union activists in prisons and concentration camps, that military units had taken over industrial enterprises and were applying brutal force against the defenseless population and trampling civil rights, and that behind all this there stood, of course, the Soviet Union. A few days later, on Charistmas, Reagan launched yet another attack against the MCNS and other legal organs of the Polish People's Republic. This time he pulled out all the stops. In a television message to the American nation, he vented his steam, just like a cowboy, and his hatred against the Polish communist team. He told his fellow countrymen, who were already in a Christmas mood, about the mass arrests of innocent citizens and of their incarceration in concentration camps, about the killing of people, about the government of General Jaruzelski conducting a real war against the Poles, and said that he, the American President, must in this situation take decisive countermeasures, drastic but necessary steps, action on all fronts -- economic, political and ideological.

In his next, post-Christmas statement, Ronald Reagan appeared as a spokesman of the interests of the Polish nation and with emphasis, typical to law-abiding sheriffs from westerns, he attacked the Soviet Union, making it solely responsible for the situation in Poland, and, above all, for the introduction of martial law and the repression allegedly carried out by the MCNS. This time the American leader went so far as to announce economic sanctions against the Soviet Union as revenge for intervention in the internal affairs in Poland.

Some time in the future history will pass judgment on all these actions by Reagan. But it is already obvious today that history will not place him among the great American statesmen, although the way he governs amazes many people. One thing is sure. He will pass into history as the main inspirer of the second cold war which threatens the whole of humanity with fear about the future, uncertainty about a calm tomorrow and uncertainty as to the possibility of the peaceful coexistence of states of different economic, social and political systems.

If the American President continues to steer along this course, then progressive world opinion will again, just as in the 1940's and 1950's judge the United States as the main warmonger, as the chief bulwark of contemporary imperialism and the spokesman of international destabilization.

Reagan's policy against Poland and toward its problems is not worthy of a great power. His actions make us sad and worried; but as a country and a nation which have gone through a lot in their history, we shall not buckle under Reagan's pressure. We are experiencing difficulties, and we know that we shall struggle with various troubles for a long time. These are our problems, and we must resolve them ourselves. One thing is certain. In spite of our problems, in spite of the unfavorable or even hostile attitude of President Reagan toward People's Poland, we do not intend to meddle and we shall not interfere, as the U.S. President does, in the internal affairs of the United States, and we shall not blame any of the U.S. allies for what is going on or for what the United States might do.

Sanctions Against USSR Viewed

LD311452 Warsaw PAP in English 1413 GMT 31 Dec 81

["What's Behind Reagan's Moves?" by PAP commentator Jan (Mianowski) — PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 30 Dec (PAP) -- Once again President Reagan expressed his dissatisfaction over the fact that situation in Poland is under control. On Tuesday he resolved to make a move which will certainly not contribute to an improvement in the international situation which has been deteriorating for quite a time now. Using the Polish situation as a pretext, President Reagan announced an extensive seven-point programme of sanctions against the USSR. He maintained that the sanctions were being instituted because the USSR was allegedly "directly responsible" for the recent developments in Poland.

The U.S. President took a number of decisions which, taken together with the recent steps concerning Poland, are in fact tantamount to a new economic embargo. By the nature of things its effects will be felt by the widest strata of Polish population. In this context the President's declarations of his friendship for the Polish nation sound ambiguously.

One cannot refrain from noting that while expressing his regret over the alleged "reprisals" and "persecutions" taking place in Poland, President Reagan has consistently avoided mentioning the evident and genuine infringements of human rights and bloody repression in such countries as Chile, Guatemala, El Salvador or Turkey. All of them are Washington's allies. This probably explains the present stand of U.S. administration which is full of hypocrisy.

TRYBUNA LUDU on U.S. Sanctions

LD021458 Warsaw PAP in English 1423 GMT 2 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Jan (PAP) -- The White House resolved to impart a particularly big international significance to events in Poland, deciding to put up with a deterioration of relations between the two superpowers which this involves, wrote Maksymilian Berezowski in TRYBUNA LUDU. This is a risky move which can seriously aggravate the whole global situation, he added.

Berezowski pointed out that "on the one hand the U.S. President continues to speak of the need for an accomodation with the USSR concerning reduction in nuclear stockpiles and the continuation of a high level dialogue, but on the other hand he orders restrictions which pave the way for tension and not accomodation."

Our newspaper has repeatedly expressed the belief that one great power cannot impose its viewpoint on the other, TRYBUNA LUDU's commentator went on. The U.S. tried more than once to use economic sanctions against the USSR, but always in vain. It cannot be ruled out that the present move has been taken because of the reluctance Western Europe demonstrated towards restrictions affecting Poland. Now the U.S. may well be trying to mobilize the West through an extension of the scope of restrictions.

"Instead of limiting the implications of the 'Polish crisis' as the U.S. has done in other situations, this time it has chosen the road which may put the international community farther away from solutions bringing peace and mutually beneficial," the daily concluded.

TRYBUNA LUDU COMMENTS ON SPASOWSKI DEFECTION

AU311717 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Dec 81 p 7

[J. Kr. commentary: "Two Faces of Treason"]

[Text] Romuald Spasowski, former Polish ambassador to the United States, has applied to the American authorities for political asylum. That high-ranking functionary in the Polish foreign service, previously under secretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and a person who has frequently invoked his "unshakable communist convictions," has committed an act of treason. While the homeland was in an extremely difficult situation, he simply defected at the moment the state, whom he represented in America, had taken a firm stand to defend its independent socialist existence.

One can see the disreputable and expressive face of treason committed by him in this stated fact alone. But the act of defection by the former Polish ambassador to the United States also unmasks Romuald Spasowski's second face.

What I have in mind are the unheard of propaganda "accessories" accompanying the defection of the former Polish diplomat, "accessories," let us add, supplied not so much by Mr Spasowski himself, as primarily by his new sponsors and "benefactors," including -- let us be frank -- the U.S. President. But let us go back to the facts.

When the lack of information -- for well-understandable reasons -- from and about Poland during the first days of martial law brought about a knowledge gap about our country's situation, former Ambassador Spasowski spoke at a 20 December press conference in Washington and did his best to fill that gap in a way which was both deceitful and which coincided with Free Europe's professional falsehoods and subversions.

Thus, Spasowski spoke about the "unprecedented reign of terror" allegedly imposed by the Polish army, about "death penalties for the failure to report for duty," as well as about the "thousands of the best sons and daughters of the Polish people" allegedly interned "in open-air camps, without a roof overhead, without sufficient food, without heating in the cold."

As a "representative of People's Poland" and a "communist," Spasowski felt deeply moved -- as he said -- by the fact that the "beloved and respected Solidarity leader, Lech Walesa, had been arrested and was being kept by force," let alone -- to quote him once again -- that "devilish forces were destroying Poland and its deeply patriotic and religious social classes..."

We took a handful of R. Spasowski's pronouncements made at the press conference to emphatically outline that second face of treason of the ex-ambassador, whom FBI and CIA protectors have reduced to the role of a puppet in the American apparatus of lies and slanders. But this was not the end of the affair.

On Tuesday 22 December President Ronald Reagan and his wife received the traitor and his wife in the White House. Taking part in the meeting were high American functionaries such as Vice President George Bush and Acting Chief of the National Security Council James Nance. While floridly describing that "emotional family scene" (!), an AP correspondent added: "The meeting crowned the enormous propaganda success scored by the Reagan administration which did not make any secret of its delight over Spasowski's defection..."

It is worth recalling that not even in the gloomiest and iciest cold war years did the heads of the American administration engage personally and directly in supporting people of Spasowski's type.

APPEAL FOR TRUST, FRONT OF NATIONAL ACCORD NOTED

LD311824 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1520 GMT 31 Dec 81

["End of the Year Reflections" by Marek Branski]

[Excerpt] For the first time for a dozen or so months we have a little peace in our country. So, we can make a start, we must make a start, and we must, all of us, grant each other a credit of trust. I realize that this credit must be guaranteed by some facts. But just think, how many of us did not believe that people who had brought our country to ruin would face a just tribunal? How many were those who dared only to whisper at suppertime that a state tribunal would never be set up, because it was the initiative of the SD and not of the PZPR? And yet the Military Council of National Salvation has decided to approach the Sejm with the proposal that such a tribunal be set up. Well, maybe with a certain modification, because the tribunal which the Military Council is seeking to establish will not only determine the political and moral responsibility of those guilty, but will also determine their penal responsibility.

Let us turn to more ordinary, everyday issues: How many of us doubted that it would ever be possible to induce the flocks of young men, and men in their prime, looking round for a beer from the early morning, to take up some honest work of benefit to society? For how many years have serious scholars discussed the criteria deciding who is a social parasite? As if it would not have been enough to ask the local authorities which men were at work, and which were not, and why. Is the introduction of the obligation to work a form of restriction of freedom? In a sense it is, but does it conflict with the sense of social justice?

These are two facts taken from only yesterday. So, if we think coolly and unemotionally, we will find that there are certain foundations on which it is possible to begin to build mutual trust. Facts in the form of material things are still lacking -- goods which would fill the shops -- but these can be produced only by our own hands.

Trust is an imporant word; it is also very fragile. It is a word exposed to a great many threats. And here I quote another example from history, from the times to which I have previously referred: when the Poles were building their country from the ruins of war, trust was also very much in demand. The new Poland was being born while the old one had not yet receded into history, and it was at that time, precisely, that some fool said: The AK [home army in World War II, sponsored by the Polish Government in London] is a spit-soiled dwarf of reaction.

In that epoch of easy generalizations that statement became generalized and extended to cover all soldiers of that army. This was a great political and historical mistake. The assessment of the government in London and the assessment of the leaders and organizers of the Warsaw uprising, as well as the assessment of the AK units which went underground and in an armed combat sought to exterminate socialism in Poland, had to be unambiguous, absolute and strict, and such they have remained. But this assessment should not have been applied to the thousands of splendid young men and women from Warsaw and from the units in the Polish forests, to the splendid young Poles of both sexes whose blood was expended so abundantly. However, the deed was done and something broke up inside those people. Many years later the party vindicated them. They were vindicated not by the person who originally slandered them but by the party because, once more by virtue of generalization, the mistake of one man had become the mistake of the party. I believe that my party will not allow anyone to commit such a mistake which could then burden the party, all those members carrying the party membership card.

Today we are assessing with severity the enemies of Poland, the enemies of socialism who acted behind the backs of the workers' solidarity. We assess with severity those people who wished to use their knowledge and their intelligence not for the common good but against us. We assess with severity the people who used their pettiness against us. Solidarity extremists, members of the Social Self-Defense Committee, members of the Confederation for an Independent Poland will be brought to account in the same way as the people who brought Poland to its present state because, in point of fact, the intentions of the ones and the actions of the others were going in a direction far removed from the interests of the working people. The party stood up in defense of these interests; after all, it is a workers' party. And in defense of these interests party members cannot allow the political assessment of the enemies of People's Poland to be extended to the millions who comprise Solidarity, to people who are ready to dedicate their work to Poland.

Therefore let us avoid divisions; let us unite; let us form the front of national accord.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI REAFFIRMS SOCIALIST RENEWAL

LD022120 Warsaw PAP in English 2013 GMT 2 Jan 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Jan (PAP) -- "There cannot be a return to wrong methods and social practice from before August 1980, a policy which was a contradiction of the essense of socialism, its humanistic values. This was confirmed with full firmness by Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski in his message of December 24, 1981," the Polish army daily ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI wrote on Jan 2.

The same was also expressed by the Martial Council of National Redemption in its proclamation addressed to the nation. Such a stand is also confirmed by the party and the government, the daily pointed out.

The daily stressed that the process of socialist renewal and economic reforms will be continued and wrong practice in managing the country will be abandoned. "We shall restore with full consistency [words indistinct] of the universal principles of socialism, the Leninist norms of party and social life. Along with the stabilization of the situation efforts will continue to be made with the view to developing socialist democracy. Conditions will gradually be created for the statutory activities of trade unions independent of the administration, but also of antisocialist influence, and representing interests of working people.

"The rejection of all that was wrong and did not serve the working class in the times before August of 1980 is the programmatic task which the new leadership of our party and state set before itself. This is its sincere aspiration," the daily asserted.

Wrote ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in conclusion: "Only a strong state can be a guarantor of Poland's getting out of the crisis, (?assuring) peace and order, normal work and life to everyone of us."

TRYBUNA LUDU VIEWS SOLIDARITY'S PLACE IN SYSTEM

LD041008 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0630 GMT 4 Jan 82

[From the press review]

[Text] In its editorial today, TRYBUNA LUDU discusses the sense of the decisions of the Military Council of National Salvation. To put it in a nutshell, the sense of these decisions amounts to the restoration of the true meaning of such words as law, order and work. These three words — law, order and work — are placed in the title of the article.

Here is the excerpt from the article that deals with work: The council is consistent in its declaration expounding the significance of work for the present and future, both of the country and the public as a whole. Following the defusing of the situation and the ending of the unnecessary strike in the Piast mine, for the first time in many months a day has passed without one strike or strike alert. The introduction, in accordance with the decree on martial law, of extended work-time and the partial reduction of free Saturdays obviously represents a certain burden for individual groups of employees. At the same time however, it perceptibly influences an increase in production, more efficient work in trade and services, and better work in the local and economic administration. The fact that attempts to organize strike actions are not only meeting with the severe sanctions anticipated in the decreee, but also with minimal interest, and more often with resolute opposition from workforces, proves how important calm is to all. the decision made recently relating to the obligation to undertake work is one more step toward meeting generally formulated postulates.

As is known, all the trade unions have been suspended from activity by the decree on martial law. It is difficult to foresee today for how long this will be. However, one has already to attempt today to look into the future with one's eyes wide open.

This problem [of when the trade unions will cease to be suspended] is dealt with by Anna Pawlowska in TRYBUNA LUDU in an article "A Reflection, Not Just for New Year: What Next?" The Solidarity union, in the real form in which it functioned up to 12 December last year, has no place and can have no place in the socialist state system.

The author of the article writes about its real form: a trade union with a character in line with the statute of the NSZZ Solidarity certainly does have such a place.

Thus, one has to pose the question differently. Is there a possibility of Solidarity forming itself, and under what conditions? Will the trade union have its own statute, in accordance with the Sejm law on trade unions which is being prepared? The reply to this question is very complex. In TRYBUNA LUDU it takes up at least two columns of print. Taking into account the need for brevity, we indicate only some of the author's opinions. She writes thus: I see no easy answers to the urgent question: what next? One thing is certain here. During inquiries one has to take facts into account: the fact that the party bears responsibility for everything that happens on Polish soil; the fact that the self-managing independence of the union movement was created by the mature will of the working class; and the fact that socialism is built through real and not pretended struggle; along with many other facts which, if ignored, could lead to nothing but a further [word indistinct] of errors.

The struggle for Solidarity has not ended at all. The opponents in this struggle are and will remain the antisocialist political opposition.

ADVISERS, NOT WORKERS, CONTROLLED SOLIDARITY

LD040639 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0530 GMT 4 Jan 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Today ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI presents additional silhouettes of top Solidarity people.

In one of the speeches at the Solidarity conference in Gdansk's Oliwia Hall, Lech Walesa said that no adviser would have a decisive voice in his union, for such is the will of the workforces. This was one of Mr chairman's pious hopes, which after all had nothing in common with the will of the workforces, for these had unfortunately ceased to have any influence on the decisions of the union bigwigs, assuming they ever did have any influence. And who did have influence? Today's list presented by ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI contains such names as Lech Badkowski, Bronislaw Geremek [word indistinct]. Here is the paper's closing comment: Solidarity's leaders were to have wielded authority over the authorities. The advisers headed by Geremek would have exercised (?authority) over the authority over the authorities. Then the Polish workers would have really lived to see their authorities!

ARMY SEIZES AMMUNITION FACTORY NEAR RADOM

LD311818 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1759 GMT 31 Dec 81

[By David Healy, PA political staff]

[Text] Reports reaching the West from Poland tonight speak of a siege by the army of an ammunition factory. The military regime also reportedly fears that explosives and ammunition might fall into the hands of the underground, transforming it into a partisan force.

The latest reports say that, although the military authorities have claimed that December 29 was Poland's first "completely peaceful" day since the military takeover, there is still persistent talk of unrest in factories.

According to reportedly reliable information reaching Warsaw, militia and troops are surrounding the A.V.N. ammunition factory in Pinkow, outside Radom. Tonight's reports reaching the West say this may explain the dearth of information from that area.

The reports also say that the longstanding fear of the military government is that explosives and ammunition could reach the underground and transform the opposition movement in Poland virtually into a partisan force. But the reports say that the timing of the information from the Radom area is unclear because news is being carried by travellers.

According to tonight's information, details are now emerging of riots in the Baltic port of Gdansk on December 17. Medical sources say that several demonstrators were forced to throw themselves from the Gdansk flyover when a squadron of tanks moved into break up the crowd. There are also reports of tanks crashing into cars in Wroclaw, and others sliding off a bridge into the river and killing the crews in an incident in the Gdansk area.

News from Poland tonight says the authorities' major concern now must be over next Monday when workers are due to return to factories after the Christmas and New Year break. In the Lenin shipyard at Gdansk, the resumption date has already been postponed three times. Workers there are being told to sign a loyalty pledge, renouncing Solidarity, before being issued with a special pass to allow them back into the yard. So far only about 30 percent of these workers have signed the pledge, according to travellers from the area.

"Reliable" reports in Warsaw say that a letter from Pope John Paul has been badly received by the government, and has soured talks between the Church and the authorities.

The fact that West German foreign minister, Herr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, in his talks in Bonn with the Polish deputy-premier, Mr Mieczyslaw Rakowski, raised the same points as the Pope, has further underlined the concern of the Military Council about the Western response to continuing martial law in Poland.

Tonight's reports say Mr Rakowski's visit to Bonn shows the Polish authorities regard West Germany as the Western country most likely to react favourably to their dilemma. Herr Genscher's response thus faces the Polish Military Council with the problem of what features to make to mollify Western opinion. And, according to tonight's reports from Warsaw, this could strengthen the hand of the Church in its negotiations with the military authorities.

FORMER GENERAL DUBICKI CITED ON MARTIAL LAW

LD311632 Paris Domestic Service in French 1200 GMT 31 Dec 81

[Text] We have information on the military coup in Poland thanks to an interview with a Polish general, Elon Dubicki, who is 66 years old and left his country -- chose freedom, as he says -- last August and took refuge in West Germany. Journalists there from LE MATIN met him for an interview. General Dubicki confirms that the establishment of martial law was under preparation for a long time with Soviet assistance.

It was from February last, in fact, that this general knew that a plan had been worked out in Moscow. At the time, he warned the leaders of Solidarity who did not really take account of it. Above all, however, the general adds -- he is a former friend of Jaruzelski -- the militarization of Poland is not essentially aimed at reducing Solidarity to silence. According to this high-ranking officer, the Russians want to prepare a Polish corridor intended to facilitate possible operation in Europe in case of war. The military takeover in Warsaw is thus to be placed firstly in a strategic context of East-West opposition. This is why, according to this general, the fate of Western Europe is now being played out in Poland.

DPA: RAKOWSKI'S SON LIVING IN WEST GERMANY

LD021454 Hamburg DPA in German 1325 GMT 2 Jan 82

[Exceprts] Wiesbaden, 2 Jan (DPA) -- The 23-year old son of Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Polish deputy prime minister, has emigrated to the West. Artur Rakowski has been living together with his wife and son in Wiesbaden since June, DPA learnt on Saturday.

The family intended to emigrate to Australia and was awaiting permission to immigrate from the relevant authorities, Artur Rakowski said in reply to an enquiry. The Rakowskis were granted political asylum for their stay in the Federal Republic.

The son of the prominent politician refused to comment on developments in Poland. "I do not seek any publicity", the student of journalism said.

The decision to emigrate to Australia was taken by Rakowski junior together with his wife Anna (aged 22) already in Warsaw, he said. For this decision he mentioned "personal and political reasons which have, however, nothing to do with my father. We simply had no future in Poland."

Together with their 2-year old son Adam the couple first went to Sweden where they worked. The trip was approved by the Polish authorities. Instead of returning to Poland the family went to the Federal Republic, arriving through the mediation of friends in Wiesbaden. Rakowski junior visited the West previously on several occasions and has also worked abroad. "I therefore knew what to expect and I am not disappointed" , said the young Pole, who is living in Wiesbaden on national assistance.

AFP ON ARMY DISILLUSIONMENT WITH MARTIAL LAW

NC011622 Paris AFP in English 1619 GMT 1 Jan 82

[Text[Paris, 1 Jan (AFP) -- Signs of growing doubt and disillusionment in the army were becoming hard to conceal as Poland ended its third week under martial law, reports from Warsaw reaching here today said.

Soldiers continued to brave icy weather to back up the militia in patrolling towns and cities but seasoned officers were finding it as hard to get used to occupying their own country as young Poles doing compulsory military service.

Officially, everything is going as hoped, with army, police and the militia closely cooperating to "normalize" the situation. But accounts from people returning from the provinces back up what foreign correspondents see every day for themselves in the capital: that Polish authorities cannot count on the army for the roughshod mopping up of the euphemistically-phrased "pockets of resistance" to martial law. These pockets have all been "pacified" by the militia.

It was the militia that charged the Wujek pits in Katowice, an operation that by official admission left seven miners dead. Until now, the army has stuck to sealing off trouble spots -- with visible lack of enthusiasm, and often openly dragging its feet. In Gdansk, already in the first days of martial law, witnesses reported seeing soldiers fraternizing with the population, sharing out sandwiches as people laughingly glued "Solidarity" stickers on the parked tanks. This camaraderie did not please the authorities who hurriedly transferred out of the Baltic port an entire unit from the neighboring town of Slupsk.

In Warsaw, despite the ban on leaving the city, Western newsmen saw for themselves the uneasiness in the ranks. When the militia violently broke up a student demonstration on December 17, the soldiers were supposed to seal off the area. Militiamen brandishing truncheons were seen chasing the students into churches, but the soldiers -- many younger than the students themselves -- openly allowed many to make their escape.

Significantly, the first clandestine bulletin put out by the Warsaw branch of Solidarity, suspended under martial law, was circulated in the central Marszalkowska Avenue under the eyes of army patrols. Some even went to the extent of crossing the road rather than intervene.

One senior priest in Warsaw reported that streams of soldiers, but also their officers, were coming, in civilian clothes, to confess their distress at occupying their own country, to explain they felt "morally ripped apart" by the need to reconcile their duty as a soldier and their feelings as Poles.

This moral dilemma is complicated by reports that Soviet, East German and Czechoslovak troops are mingling in the ranks in Polish uniform. These reports are now given as "certain" by highly reliable sources.

Daily life in Warsaw illustrates the soldiers' emotional tug-of-war. Everyone has noticed that controls are almost casual at army checkpoints, while soldiers, as if to excuse their uniform, jump to assist civilians -- smilingly helping a motorist charge his battery, or guiding an old lady across the road. And witnesses all agree that brutality reported on the night martial law was declared was the work of the militia. To be handed over to the army meant food, drink and to be treated with respect.

It appears obvious that Polish authorities cannot count in the long run on the army standing together, especially if a lengthy state of siege means direct confrontation with the population.

The winter is not helping, with night after night spent guarding streets and bridges in icy cold sapping troop morale. Soldiers spend endless hours in freezing winds, huddled around tiny braziers. Reliable sources report that Polish hospitals are crammed with soldiers put out of action by pneumonia and bronchitis. Meanwhile, Solidarity is also believed to be waiting for better weather, to launch an effective counter-attack.

PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU'S NEW YEAR MESSAGE

AU311055 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0920 GMT 31 Dec 81

["Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's New Year Message to the Entire People, Read on the Radio and Television" -- AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 31 Dec (AGERPRES) -- Dear comrades and friends,

Citizens of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

In a few minutes we shall be ending 1981, the first year of the Seventh Five-Year Plan, with outstanding achievements in economic and social development, in the rise of our socialist nation's welfare, both materially and spiritually. The party Central Committee's plenary meeting appreciated the remarkable acheivements in the development of industry, agriculture and other economic sectors, the progress in science, education and culture all while strongly pointing to the shortcomings and difficulties that have been manifest over that period, setting the measures required for their liquidation, for the unswerving implementation of the party programme of building the multilaterally developed socialist society and advance to communism, of the twelfth congress resolutions. I must add that all these achievements were made against the background of the difficulties in the world economy which also showed in our country, as I have said many a time.

The achievements prove out the correctness of the policy pursued by the Romanian Communist Party which applies general truths, the principles of scientific socialism to Romania's specific conditions. They evince the creative force of the Romanian people, free and master of its own destinies, the superiority of our socialist system, the powerful assertion of the party's leading role, the whole people's unity in the revolutionary work and struggle to raise Romania onto new peaks of progress and civilization.

At this solemn time, our thoughts go to the working class, to the peasantry and intelligentsia, to all working people irrespective of nationality, to the party bodies and organizations, mass and public organizations, to the entire people whose dedication ensures the continual development of Socialist Romania. For the great successes you have had this year, I congratulate you all, dear comrades, most warmly and wish you further and ever greater achievements in your work in the service of the people, of our socialist homeland.

In a few minutes we will be seeing the new year, in 1982 -- the second year of the 1981-85 five-year plan for which an economic and social development programme was worked out jointly with all the bodies of our socialist democracy, the broad popular masses to ensure the firm attainment of the strategic target, of the basic task set by the twelfth congress, the achievement of a new quality of our entire people's life and work, Romania's passage to a higher development stage.

We shall have to cope with many difficulties next year too due to both the world economic crisis and some arrears in the ensurance of the technical and material basis. Therefore, we must take highly resolute action, in a revolutionary spirit, to liquidate the shortcomings, strengthen the sense of responsibility and exigency in the economic and social life as a whole, doing our best to develop the raw and energy-producing basis, to permanently raise the quality and performance of the products.

While firmly applying the new economic mechanism, worker self-financing and self-management, let us raise economic efficiency, labour productivity, lower production expenses and continually increase the national income.

Let 1982 mark a big progress in our agriculture on the path of modernization, improvement of productivity, increase of plant and animal production, achievement of a new agrarian revolution.

Let us found the whole work of the homeland's economic and social progress on the most advanced achievements of science and technology; let us raise more and more the role of science, education and culture in building the new social system.

Let us develop still more in 1982 socialist democracy, the active participation of all working people regardless of nationality, of the whole people in the conscious making of their own socialist and communist future.

Under the current difficult international economic situation, let us prove the force and capacity of our wonderful people which more than once in its millenary history, proved its high virtues, boundless love of the ancestral land, never swerving in the face of hardships.

Let us prove now, when our people, master of its destinies, makes its life in freedom as it wishes, its granitic unity in the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party -- the leading political force of our socialist nation.

Let us make further progress in 1982 in the uninterrupted development of our homeland, in the improvement of the material and spiritual standards of the entire nation, in the strengthening of Socialist Romania's independence and sovereignty.

Dear comrades and friends,

Citizens of Socialist Romania,

Many complex problems have cropped in the international political life in 1981, the arms race continued, dark clouds portending storm have gathered over the continent, over the entire planet. The contradictions among various states and groups of states, the struggle for the maintenance and re-division of the spheres of influence have continued and even intensified this year.

At the same time, there has been an intensification of the people's struggle against the imperialist and colonialist policy, for a new policy founded on the principles of fully equal rights, respect for national sovereignty and independence, noninterference in internal affairs and mutual advantage.

The struggle between these two diametrically opposite tendencies in the international life will strongly continue into 1982 as well.

We must take resolute action to put an end to international tension, for the resumption of the course of detente and the promotion of a new democratic policy of respect for national independence, of cooperation and peace.

Romania will take unswerving action for the strengthening of cooperation with all the socialist countries, with the developing countries, as well as with the developed capitalist countries on the basis of the principles of full equality of rights, respect for independence and noninterference in internal affairs.

We must do our best to stop the deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe, for the withdrawal of those already in place, for a passage to arms reduction and the achievement of a nuclear free Europe.

Let us strengthen cooperation and solidarity with all progressive forces, with all the peoples that are for the cessation of the arms race, for disarmament and peace.

Let us do our utmost now, before it is too late, to bring about a passage to general disarmament, nuclear disarmament first of all.

Let us act most resolutely to achieve a united Europe in which each nation may develop fearing no aggression.

Now, when we see the new year in, we call once again on the peoples of Europe and of the whole world to strengthen solidarity and intensify the struggle for disarmament, for the fundamental right of peoples to freedom, life, peace. We are fully confident that the peoples have the force required to put an end to the arms race.

Let us do our best for the success of the Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva on stopping the deployment and removing nuclear missiles in Europe.

Let us take action for the successful conclusion in 1982 of the Madrid meeting and the convening of a conference on confidence-building and disarmament, ensuring continuity to the meetings on security and cooperation in Europe.

Let 1982 bring about the easing of the international atmosphere, greater confidence and cooperation among all nations -- the essential prerequisite for every people's economic and social progress, for the safeguarding of world peace.

Let 1982 be the year when real measures are taken for the liquidation of underdevelopment and the achievement of a new world economic and political order to ensure the progress of the countries lagging behind, international economic stability.

Let us do everything we can so that the small and medium-sized countries, the developing and nonaligned countries take a more active part in the settlement of the major international issues, for a growing role of the United Nations, of other international organisms.

Let us take firm action for the settlement of the current conflicts only by way of negotiation, for the elimination of the threat and use of force from the internal life.

Dear comrades and friends,

Citizens of Socialist Romania,

We enter 1982 fully confident in the united force of our people, convinced that the new year will bring our nation further accomplishments in the implementation of the party programme of economic and social development, of improving the working people's welfare, of continually strengthening the homeland's defence capability, Socialist Romania's independence and sovereignty.

I wish our wonderful working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, all working people regardless of nationality, further achievements, ever bigger accomplishments in life and work.

May all your wishes, dear fellow countrymen, come true.

I wish you all a happy New Year.

LEADERS GREET CASTRO ON ANNIVERSARY, REELECTION

Liberation Day Greetings

AU040931 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 3 Jan 82 p 4

[Text] To Comrade Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC] and chairman of the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, Havana,

On the 23rd anniversary of liberation day, Cuba's national holiday, we extend comradely greetings and cordial congratulations to you, the PCC, the State Council and Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba and the friendly Cuban people, on behalf of the RCP, the State Council and Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Romanian people and ourselves personally.

On this occasion, too, we express the firm conviction that by joint action the good relations of friendship, solidarity and comprehensive cooperation between our parties and countries will increasingly develop in all fields, in the interest of socialist construction in Romania and Cuba, to the mutual benefit of the Romanian and Cuban people and in the interest of the oversall cause of socialism, people's independence, peace and cooperation in the world.

We take this important opportunity to extend to you, the PCC and the Cuban people heartfelt wishes for new and ever greater successes in the socialist construction as well as wishes for peace and prosperity.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

Ilie Verdet, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Reelection Greetings

AU041234 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 31 Dec 81 p 7

[Text] To Comrade Fidel Castro Ruz, chairman of the State Council and Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, Havana,

On your reelection to the positions as chairman of the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, we warmy congratulate you on behalf of the State Council and Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and ourselves personally.

We wish you ever greater success in carrying out the highly responsible tasks entrusted to you and express the conviction that the good relations of friendship, solidarity and cooperation between Romania and Cuba will continue to develop, to the benefit of the Romanian and Cuban peoples and in the interest of the cause of peace and socialism.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Ilie Verdet, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania

AGERPRES-WAFA COOPERATION PROTOCOL SIGNED 28 DEC

AU311007 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 29 Dec 81 p 3

[Text] A cooperation protocol between the Romanian news agency AGERPRES and the PLO news agency WAFA was signed on Monday in Bucharest.

The protocol was signed by Ion Cumpanasu, general director of AGERPRES, and (Abu Nidal Ismail), director of the Palestinian department of information in Syria, director of the WAFA bureau in Damascus and member of the Palestine Information Council.

Khalid ash-Shaykh, the PLO's permanent representative in Bucharest, was also present at the signing ceremony.

BRIEFS

FESTIVE MEETING FOR SFRY -- A festive meeting was organized on 18 December at the Central Army Club to mark the 40th anniversary of the Yugoslav People's Army day. The meeting was opened by Lt Gen Gheorghe Gomoiu, deputy minister of national defense and secretary of the army Higher Political Council. SFRY military, air and naval attache Nikola Rodic spoke during the event. [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 Dec 81 p 5 AU]

VLADIMIR BAKARIC ON ECONOMIC SITUATION, TITO

LD300932 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1908 GMT 29 Dec 81

[Text] Zagreb, 29 Dec (TANJUG) -- Dr Vladimir Bakaric, member of the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium, received Marinko Gruic, chairman of the management board of the Vjesnik composite organization of associated labor, on 25 December and granted him the following interview:

Gruic: Only half a year separates us from the 12th LCY Congress and a little less from the Ninth Congress of the Croat League of Communists. The elections of delegations to delegate assemblies will be held in the spring of 1982. Also due next year is the Nonaligned Summit. The battle for economic stabilization, which will obviously last for a longer period of time, is in progress, so we face a period full of exceptionally important work and revolutionary activities. Economic and political problems are increasingly numerous. There are many apparaisals of the situation and its causes, but they are often insufficiently explained and quite different, at times even contradictory. We are closer to one another in "depicting" the situation, but we are considerably less successful in finding the right answers and measures to overcome the present backlog and "blockages."

As a result of our shortcomings and inconsistencies, various old and long outdated, as well as "new," antilabor and anti-self-management concepts, ranging from dogmatic-centralist through nationalist to technocratic and neocapitalist, are being revived and more brutal attempts are being made to impose them. One gains the impression that a certain crisis of creativity is emerging, even in the League of Communists, that there is a lack of resolute and united revolutionary action. The situation is a complex one, the problems are numerous and there are fewer real visions.

Comrade Bakaric, you are one of the strategists of our socialist development. How do you appraise the present juncture of social reality and our development prospects, primarily on the basi front of our revolution, in the strengthening of the real role of the working class and in the rapid building of socialist self-managing socio-economic relations? Are there, in your view, any reasons to reexamine some aspects of the concept of the building of our society or is this, in fact, a matter of the need for greater ideological and action unity, the need for a more vigorous and much more resolute struggle for its more consistent realization? How are we to ensure that this will be achieved in practice?

Bakaric: There is no reason to reexamine aspects of the actual concept of the building of our society. I think it is necessary to continue by following the same path, as we conceived it, and by further developing it. The question which, in fact, poses itself here is where we are now and how the present situation should be appraised. People usually talk first about lagging behind in the development of self-management and then about the difficult economic situation.

I think there is an error in both aspects of this question. The question is: What are we, in fact, doing now? We are working to adapt Yugoslavia and its social system to the position which we must have in the international division of labor, which enables us to participate in the battles for the new economic order in the world and which, in fact, enables Yugoslavia to exist. In other words, our system has so far been and still continues to be characterized by a certain isolationism, economic isolationism, which was necessary during one period and which cannot today be liquidated all that fast. This isolationism has led to this. However, why did we have it at all? We had it because it was necessary to concentrate and centralize resources in order to achieve a powerful drive in the development of the production forces. And we accomplished that. However, in order to achieve concentration and centralization we had to become isolated because of the question of the flowing away of income, flowing away of the resources needed for building, which upsets all those relations. This, incidently, would not be possible in a quiet economy, an economy which did not have such great aspirations. This meant that we had to depress some of the prices, while some had to be held at a higher level than those abroad.

We had to do this. Also, we had to develop activity along a broad front, such as, for instance, through work drives, not just youth work drives, but work drives comprising everybody, and that was not possible without a considerably high degree of isolationism. However, this isolationism then created, in turn, first a centralized state. It had to result in state power, so we then built state power, which is to say rule on behalf of the class through the representatives of the working class. Then, in order to achive rule by the working class, we headed first for decentralization and afterwards toward having the working class definitively assume all the responsibility itself. To enable it to assume all the responsibility, all this had to be resolved conceptually, and we resolved it, as far as the principles are concerned, in the form of two well-known laws.

Gruic: What is the current situation? Is the leading role of the working class being realized?

Bakar: This realization has proceeded gradually. In the current period a new step is being taken under the slogan of stabilization. To make both ends meet and in the desire to reduce their dependence on foreign loans, individual work organizations must first think about their own futures in new conditions, bearing in mind the fact that the state will not look after them, that they have to do so themselves. The first element in this was the congress of self-managers, and so the process goes on, and newspapers, for instance, write about this. They say that a work organization has managed to cope and that somebody else has failed to do so, and write about the steps which should be taken to make it possible to work in these new conditions. And these new conditions are on the whole such, for the time being, that we cannot live by eponing loand raised abroad and have a higher standard of living than our own production forces permit. This is why there have been restrictions, a reduction in the standard of living. This, in fact, represents an adaptation to our production forces. In this, too, there are a number of elements which do not depend on us. There is a certain rise in prices owing to the higher prices of crude oil, and not only of crude oil, but also of other foreign trade items. This means that now we have to do more work to be able to pay for oil, and this in turn means that we must give something up, and that is one of the elements in the rise in prices in our country. This is not inflation; it is adaptation.

Gruic: However, real inflation also exists.

Bakaric: That is something different. Our prices are rising because of inflation, and we are now adapting ourselves in such a way as to be able to reduce this inflation -- inflation which is not caused by external elements, but is our own problem -- or to put it in a form that can be controlled. It mainly depends on our own crediting system, which is to say primarily on the printing of money. The issue was higher [words indistinct]. Then there are also reciprocal credits and bank credits which were granted without any cover in production itself. Also, if you do not have enough of something and have to buy, then prices go up. Prices go up, and to prevent this from hurting the working class we raise personal incomes, and then you come to the point when you cannot go on like this any more.

We have not reached the point at which we can go no further, but we are near it. Even now we need to bring this into line with our real possibilities. This is an enormous intervention, and we have to intervene from top to bottom. Measures have been adopted from above which we call stabilization and are part of this problem. And this time, probably, they are the most important part which, however, can cause some lack of understanding of the thing itself -- let us say, greater isolationism instead of a greater opening up. Greater isolationism is necessary in some places, especially at the moment, because of the problem of reducing imports and substituting our own costly raw materials or semi-finished products, and so forth. However, the real problem is how to pay for those imports which cannot be substituted because substitution is too expensive.

In this phase we have not yet done so, for it turned put that we have great reserves and possibilities of substituting for imports as well as of stimulating exports in order to be able to pay for what we need. The main problem here, naturally, is the Western market, which itself is in a crisis and is not in a good state, so it cannot easily accept someone else.

But this is not an excuse for our problems, and therefore we must aim more forcefully at facing the problem of relations between the developed and the underdeveloped and initiating greater trade and exchange in order to achieve an increased system of links with developing countries and to penetrate into the developed world so as to contribute to better relations between developed and developing countries. This is the heart of our problem. Naturally, if we bring consumption within the limits of our production possibilities, then things happen such as shortages of coffee, sugar and some raw materials, for these cannot be substituted according to the old system. And now, if we view such a phenomenon as the collapse of the system of self-management, this is incorrect, for this was not caused by the system of self-management, but by the system of isolationism which we inherited. The system of self-management has the task of solving the problems which have arisen.

Of course, it is not easy to solve these problems, for we have really spent more than we were able to earn with our own forces of production. At the beginning you mentioned that we come to agreement easily in assessing this situation, but that is not quite accurate, for the great majority of people have made assessments in public which are not along these lines. They consider that it is a case of a defined economy which has manifested some weaknesses and a system which was patched up by various means, such as reform in the monetary system and the adaptation of the dinar. But this was only the patching up of the old system which, moreover, we have already done: But then, after a certain amount of time, the same problems reappear. You can compare some of the current assessments with those made about 10 years ago: They are quite the same. The problems are the same: Problems of devaluation, and inflation which are sometimes greater and sometimes less significant, but they are always there. If, then, we do not treat the system itself, the problems will continue to increase, precisely because it is a process of adaptation. So if we continue to spend more than we can produce, the situation will be even blacker.

In general, assessments have been as follows: We were told that the way out of this is state planning or planning through the banks. We were then offered everything that we had already had, which drags us backwards in these questions. Of course, all this together required a very great effort by the whole of society, and my assessment is that this effort has started to develop positively. But although we have involved a whole series of collectives and people, we still have not managed to involve all those forces which should be involved. This concern has still not been passed on completely to basic organizations of associated labor, for the work collective must as a whole be concerned with this new position in which it finds itself. Here, naturally, the main role is then played by the professional administration. However, professional administrators must now present the accounts to the whole collective, especially if they cannot find a rapid solution, and this means that the problems must come before the basic organization of associated labor.

Gruic: Permit me to expand on this topic a little. The truth is not being questioned, but some people are trying to bring into question the system and direction of our development as defined at the 10th and 11th LCY Congresses, in the Constitution and the law on associated labor. We have, then, a strategy of social and economic development and so forth, but obviously in practice these processes make slow and painful progress and are under pressure from all these objective difficulties and subjective weaknesses.

I have the impression that even part of our cadres are under pressure from real problems and transfer responsibility onto the system of self-management, which clearly should be more effective, instead of aiming criticism at the strong vestiges of the old system which still exist and are quite difficult to get rid of. The congress lies before us and I think we need a certain vision of further rapid development as a basis for greater mobility and a clearer orientation in revolutionary activity.

Bakaric: It is characteristic that in society not only a verbal battle for ideological purity develops, but also a real battle for the specific realization of this orientation, for here is a question of a change in social relations. In the period of our decentralization, the republic played the basic role, then the leading organs in enterprises and leading organs in other organizations. This, then, was the position which has still not yet led to direct management by the working class. This "reign," as is known from experience, is very firm and cannot be overthrown lightly, even more so because the working class in basic organizations of associated labor have neither sufficient information or sufficient possibilities of directing development.

You see, the direction of development has to be set by an expert nucleus and expert organization. Only there is the question of whether this expert organization commands the working class or acts as a function of it. Without expert leadership, then, there can be no self-management, but the question is what this expert leadership means. If it is, so to speak, an integral part of the basic organization, then it is, let us say, fine, and then the basic organization will assess the expert leadership. It will ask: Have you or have you not found a solution? I say that if everything goes well -- which has been the case up to now -- then the basic organization remains silent. It has no reason to say anything, but here the expert leadership can be transformed into a command system.

But as soon as things do not go well the basic organization naturally begins to complain and demand that the professional leadership be coordinated with fundamental interests. And as the question is now the coordination of the production force with social consumption, it is certain that a large number of working people must now adapt their day-to-day life. Hence, there is every reason for everybody beginning to concern themselves with what will be tomorrow. In this regard, great progress has been made toward further strengthening self-management. When the situation becomes slightly stabilized matters will proceed in a relatively normal way. And there is the question of the further development of the system, that is, the question of developing self-managing interest communities, the question of developing the delegate system. Everything must be subjected to such a criticism, everything must be built on this present basis, on the foundations of trends inside basic organizations of associated labor.

Gruic: Have you gained the impression that the self-managing interest communities on which, rightly or wrongly, considerable insults are heaped, nevertheless, by tendency and in reality, are turning into new centers of power? The crucial question, in fact, is that the worker as the subject makes decisions about this basic organization, that is with regard to all parts of society, including the self-managing interest communities. I think that certain tendencies are dangerous for social development. What do you think about this?

Bakaric: When the self-managing interest communities were formed, they took on, in fact, the functions of those social organizations which ruled society. Thus, they took on the budgetary function and that of subsequent funds. They are still not a real representation of associated labor, it is again these professional services which rule them, services for which only now conditions exist to reduced them to a professional service of appropriate social community, or community of associated labor.

This process is proceeding only with difficulty, it goes without saying, because this is no longer the question of direct benefit, apart from exceptional cases, but of a benefit in the superstructure of the tissue which links associated labor and which makes it possible for it to continue to operate and to continue to satisfy social needs.

Gruic: Taking up some of your earlier thoughts, could it be said that the key to a mature and long-term stabilization policy lies, first and foremost, in social relations in which the working man, organized in his basic organizations of associated labor and in the delegate system, will be the real exponent of the development as a whole, with respect to the world at large and in the competitive ability of our economy, in greater productivity and in a more rational business activity, for which the working people will be motivated with regard to income and have material incentives, in the deeper restructuring of the economy, and so forth?

Bakaric: What should be said is this: If the stabilization is seen separately from these processes, then it is a restriction; if it is seen as part of this process then it is an instrument whereby social relations are adjusted to the future. Hence, if we stop only at that and do not think that it is part of this process then it will not last long as have all such measures up to now. And if stabilization is exclusively and only a restriction then it will not produce anything, it is only temporary. If it serves as pressure toward this change in social relations this is a different matter, then it is an element in achieving what is lasting, or to be more precise, of achieving a more lasting state of affairs. Take, for instance, the speeding up of exports. If one speeds up exports for exports' sake and does not think how to keep up such exports then it is nothing, then it is even at times a negative thing because one will export goods at a loss, so it cannot be a lasting thing because one cannot have losses forever. But if this is raised in a different way in this system of adaptation to the international division of labor, then it has some kind of meaning. Mistakes can be made in this connection too. For instance, at one time we were exporting timber, so to say, at a very low price because we needed a breathing space. But, this cannot go on forever because somebody has to pay for this loss. Then society could say: Well, wait a minute, stop this. I am not here to bear your losses: And, therefore, I think that this question, if not linked with the question of society's adaptation, of which we spoke earlier, will come up again. Therefore, the criticism of the stabilization policy as a restriction is not appropriate, or rather it is appropriate only if it ascertains what is temporary and what is not temporary.

Gruic: How can one explain the fact that we had the strength to reduce the personal incomes of millions of working people even below the economic and social justification, which the workers accepted and implemented with dignity and consciousness, and yet we do not have enough courage to reduce or change radically the investment activity though it is precisely the excessive and inadequate investments which are the basic hotbed of our economic instability and of such high inflation!

Bakaric: Well, the working class has behaved and is behaving still now exceptionally well and shows great understanding for this matter. And, if one explains to the work collectives what is involved, they accept it, they are ready to wage a struggle for it, even at the expense of their standard of living. In the first place, it is clear to them that the general standard is too high, though, as you can see, our aim is not have the standard of the working class changed much, but to see to it that the standard of the higher social stratum is affected more, a stratum which will bear this with greater difficulty with regard to the uproar it will cause but with considerably greater ease in practice. As regards investments, it should be said that this is a social relationship. Investments are not merely a question of money, investments are in the first place a social relationship and they have been managed by that managerial stratum...

Gruic: Practice shows that wherever associated labor has been the exponent of investments they have been more rational and more efficient; there have been no great excesses.

On the other hand, wherever other structures have been making decisions on investments a whole series of problems have often emerged as well as failures, so to say, "over-inflated" investments.

Bakaric: And not only this. This is a social relationship. In this, the investments begin from somewhere and, for instance, commit a new section of employees who can go, with their increased power of consumption, onto the market which has not expanded. This means: You have more consumers than resources. Hence, prices must rise in order to cover the greater consumption power which has arisen. But they are employed and you cannot chase them out of work, you cannot say to them: You are superfluous. Then, in the wake of these prices comes a certain production which either exists or does not. It usually demands changes in the method of production, that is, either these products are not available or their prices on the market rise. Then again investments cannot be covered and so there is further redistribution. All projects take longer to build because there are no funds to meet the costs. But here again there is the social relationship: Having begun the construction you cannot all at once break it off all that easily, nor can you say, this is now cancelled. Recently we have demonstrated great firmness in this respect in the desire to find the proportions within which this attack on existing sources can somehow be reduced to rational limits. Of course, this is exceptionally difficult because somebody will be affected and one has to select who should be affected. Then somebody else appears on the scene, from associated labor, with its work collective, and he will, of course, demand to invest in that which he needs, that is, to purchase raw material somewhere or to find the market, and thus this will be more rational and must be more rational. And if this is done by a sociopolitical community, or rather by its leadership, then it is a different matter. The problem which arises is how to employ people. And no judgement is applied with regard to where to employ them. It simply boils down to this: Anything will do, let us just employ them. In such a situation it is all the same to them whether they are destroying somebody somewhere, some production which is already in progress, or whether they are introducing various changes; but they want to employ their people and they must try to employ them because they see no other way out. The result is investment of this kind and naturally there is exaggeration in the amount: It is overlooked that the credit mass has no cover in the material base.

Gruic: Lately, the problem of fragmentation, even of the break up of the uniform Yugoslav market, is being stressed. Do you agree with this and, if you do, what do you think are the causes?

Bakaric: A big discussion has been going on about this lately because with the setting up of various monopolist centers, due to the extensive isolationism, various work organizations are not interested in linking up either in new production or in the distribution of labor. Thus the monopolies lead, first of all, to a higher monopoly, which could be a republic, but it could also be something else, and there is no interest in going further. That is, there is no interest in going further than the narrow market, I would say, than the provincial market which meets the problem of employment of the particular area, the problem of relative supplies and the general problems of that area. There is no interest in anything beyond that. Thus, the more serious question arises, that of the national economy and the uniform Yugoslav market. If there are [word indistinct] which hold the monopoly there is no joint, or rather, unified Yugoslav market, because it is entirely useless to integrate [word indistinct]. You can raise a big hullaballoo but is no use. The question is also one of where this should lead to. If you go for consumer goods, then this is difficult for the Yugoslav market. There is always somebody nearby who is producing it and producing it cheaply, except for wheat and similar goods. And if you go for means of production then this monopoly does not need these means of production. Thus, there will be no investments, there will be no interest in expanding production of investing in one's own competitiveness and there is no interest in concerning oneself with employment in some other area. However, discussion has been in progress lately about the question of national economies, that is, an antirepublican campaign is in progress everywhere.

If it is based on the aim of creating a unified market by force then this campaign is doomed to failure from the start.

I don't know and I cannot see how a unified market can be created without also creating national economies with the proviso that this monopolist position is abolished. This campaign to create forceably a unified market, in fact, takes one back to centralism and to a system which pulls away from management by associated labor to management by some state or parastate organization. On the contrary, the elements of this isolationism should be abolished. In the whole world, the process of integration, the process of linking up is in progress, and if one abolishes this isolationsim toward the outside, this process will open up in our country. Thus, the aim should be to abolish monopoly and to create greater productive forces and then immediately one will arrive at the knowledge that it is necessary to create a unified market, or at least, first a joint market to be followed by a unified market, by the force of economic laws and not by administrative intervention.

Gruic: Comrade Bakaric, you were one of Tito's closest collaborators, one of the progagonists and creators of our nationality policy and intranational relations. How do you appraise the actual processes in the sphere of the nationality policy and intranational relations in our country.

Bakaric: One of these themes is the question of the social basis for the settling of nationality questions. First, we had the thesis about the need to be Yugoslav. The Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia [AVNOJ] adopted the principles of Yugoslavia's federal order. Why federal order? So that it should be a community of equal nations and, later, with the adoption of the constitution, nationalities. Without that it would not have been possible to create a community as unified or, let us call it, homogenous as Yugoslavia. It goes without saying that the basic question in this respect was that of equality. This means that it had to be created on the basis which linked these nations together and that was rule by the working class or, if you want, the working class and working people, with deep democratism in this respect.

Without this there would have been no Yugoslavia. What increases this cohesion and what weakens it? It would first mention the question of these national economies, which, allegedly, are growing weaker. I should like to draw attention to 1971 and the years around it, when there was a critical situation in connection with the nationality question in Yugoslavia. The basic themes were precisely those concerning the lack of national economies. For instance, in Zagres the basic question was that of the foreign exchange regime. At that time crisis situations were created by a lack of national economies. Subsequently, first in the amendments and then also in the Constitution, we opted in favor of creating national economies, but on the basis of uniform workers' self-management in Yugoslavia. This social relationship, this uniform workers' self-management is the sine qua non for Yugoslavia's survival. Otherwise the most we would have been able to achieve would be this joint market and some kind of confederation, though it is dubious whether we would have achieved even that. Consequently, the social basis must be clearly defined and it was defined in the constitutional amendments and then in the Constitution and then the following question emerged: how to create national economies on a uniform basis which must give cohesional strength to and must lead to the creation of these economies, but must do so in the conditions of simultaneous interdependence and simultaneous cooperation between these national economies?

Gruic: On the basis of self-managing social relations and equality?

Bakaric: Yes, that is the story. And here too this basis does not seem to be respected, and the basis of the cohesion of Yugoslavia itself beings to be lost and nationalisms of all kinds appear because it is then accused of exploitation, and so forth. Now, here you have the question: What has happened here? Naturally, the question of Yugoslavia's cohesional strength is not always the same as it too changes along with developments. These relations of social changes, as well as, naturally, the battle against the remnants of the old, grow stronger more rapidly in some places and more slowly in others.

It is on these remnants of the old, nationalist ideology, which prevents the further development of both self-managing relations and of Yugoslavia's cohesion.

Gruic: Can I now mention one of the most topical questions, that is, the position of the socialist autonomous provinces in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the question of the autonomous provinces as the constituting elements of the federation.

Bakaric: This is now, let us say, the biggest political problem for Yugoslavia, a problem which outwardly seems to concern the superstructure, but in fact is a problem of the development of self-managing relations. We have the initiative to raise this question so sharply because of the events in Kosovo. A considerable amount of light was thrown on these events by the recently-adopted platform. It appears that there was great stagnation there in the development of self-managing relations, that there was evidence of an orientation toward isolationism, toward the creation of monopolies by the political structure of society and monopolies in opposition to Yugoslavia. It goes without saying that Kosovo is not a problem for Serbia alone, because it has subsequently also become a question for Yugoslavia.

If a nationality cannot exist in Yugoslavia, then this at the same time becomes the question of whether Yugoslavia can remain at all. Consequently, Serbia has this role imposed on it, but within the framework of these fundamental principles which apply to the whole of Yugoslavia. As far as Kosovo is concerned -- let me put it this way -- an erroneous appraisal of its development was given over a long period of time. This was not a politically erroneous appraisal -- in political declarations this was quite clear. Above all, what manifested itself primarily was the lack of a practical platform of cooperation between Serbia and Kosovo. Then mistrust developed between the Serbian Central Committee and the Kosovo Provincial Committee, and furthermore among the people, toward the Albanian population in Kosovo. The question was: What is going on, are the Albanians a national minority, did the Serbs or, in other words, Yugoslavia, in fact occupy a part of Albania or where they, conversely, a nationality which enjoyed all the rights in Yugoslavia, the same rights as those enjoyed by the Serbs or Croats or anyone else? We decided in favor of a nationality, of a nationality which is an equal integral part of Serbia and Yugoslavia. Why "nationality" and not "national minority?" Nationality because we have no ambition to create two nations out of the Albanians or to create something, let us say, in the way Austrians developed from the Germans. Nor did we want the kind of division as between North and South Korea or any other division, especially as this nationality, which enjoys full rights in Yugoslavia, should have been a bridge for the elimination of borders.

And what socialism should bring in the future is the erasing of borders and the conducting of fraternal relations between Serbs and Albanians, between Albanians on the one side of the border and Albanians on the other side. What we ought to ensure is this path of development. In Albania something different is happening, this is an antagonistic attitude toward Yugoslavia, which means that it is impossible to build a bridge. This situation is negative, and black page in Albania's history. Enver Hoxha, and Tirana, or the Albanian leadership, are a black eposide in the development of the history of the Albanians. If those nationalists were to win in Kosovo, this would also be a black page. They cannot win without causing major changes in the development of socialism, nonalignment and peace in the Balkans, and I don't know what else. We in Yugoslavia must support the thesis which will give full freedom to the Albanian nation, but to an Albanian nation which will build a bridge toward Serbia and Yugoslavia and toward a future, let us say, future Albania. [as received] Here there was great confusion. The creation of non-self-management relations and a political monopoly in Kosovo led to the need to create something else. Apart from this, there was the social problem in the development of Kosovo, a social problem which could have happened everywhere else.

An enormous number of young people who could not find employment in the countryside within the limits given for industrial development, left the villages, which were breaking up, and could not reach that social standard which existed elsewhere in Yugoslavia.

They therefore studied abstract sciences and had no prospect of employment before them for, naturally, one cannot employ so many politicians or Albanologists anywhere. This had to lead to a conflict, and a conflict on the basis of a political platform unacceptable to Yugoslavia. This is egalitarianism, that is, levelling off, as an idea and, naturally, the quest for a special position, a non-self-management position within Yugoslavia under the slogan of "A Republic for Kosovo." This, of course, was the internal development in Kosovo. As regards the rest of us, for a long time we respected Kosovo's autonomy, and this was fine, but we were not able to discuss and bring this into line with LCY policy, which is based on equality and so forth. Now, naturally, the question of autonomy has been raised, and a problem has arisen, for Serbia, the Socialist Republic of Serbia, has so far not been able to create a practical platform for cooperation with the autonomous provinces. Why is this so? It acted correctly in opening the way for public discussion, which ought to produce some results. We shall see what the results will be. Naturally, Vojvodina's autonomy is rather different from Kosovo's as the structure of the population is different, but the principle is the same. The discussions are continuing, and we shall see what develops.

Gruic: Does it not seem to you that recently, especially with the growth of economic difficulties in the country and the counterrevolutionary nationalistic-irredentist rebellion in Kosovo, that dogmatic-centralist-unitaristic pressures and hegemonist tendencies, as well as egotistic-separatist nationalism, which have a mutual origin, are growing more strongly?

Bakaric: Yes, I agree, especially in those, so to speak, elite troops of various leaderships where unitaristic pressure is strong. Revanchism is also present, and this has led to nothing good. It has held back, and today holds back, the resolution of principled issues in the relationship of Serbia and Yugoslavia with Kosovo. Tolerance of anti-Albanian tendencies in the public -- not only in forums, concerns all the nations, for if Kosovo is treated in a revanchist way and it is not given the rights which it has, for this is one of the basic principles of Yugoslavia -- then the question is, what will become of the other nations so that nationalism will be promoted, what about mutual distrust and, of course, all different types of nationalism creating major problems. It is not yet creating major problems, but would create problems concerning Yugoslavia's cohesion.

Gruic: What would you say about the League of Communists today, in particular about the LCY as the unified organization of the working class and about the League of Communists role in socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces?

Bakaric: The League of Communists is the organization of the working class. This can also be seen from the fact that there is discussion now on the functioning of the League of Communists. There has been discussion on federalism and, since the League of Communists is in fact the creator of new Yugoslavia and the representative of the unity or of the unified social system in Yugoslavia, it must remain as a unified organization, with a unified program and, therefore, nations in it must be respected, but it must remain a unified organization. This means that a republic cannot dictate to the League of Communists what it should do, while the League of Communists has to bear in mind the interests not merely of one republic but of every republic. This question is still to be elaborated organizationally and I think that it is precisely this which the commissions for the preparation of the congresses are now working on. As far as I can tell, I think that they are working well and that the general view is that the view is in principle such as I have said.

Gruic: Comrade Bakaric, in the past few days there has been discussion at the highest League of Communists forums, and even various assessments made, on the implementation of Tito's idea on collective work and responsibility, about the idea concerning one or several candidates, furthermore about the verification of elections in the LCY Central Committee, about secret voting, and so forth. Can you say something on this.

Bakaric: No. The discussions are in progress and I think that the discussions are proceeding well, regardless of the fact that there are or could be some differences, but, as one can see, these differences lie more or less in details and not in the principles.

Gruic: How do you view the present situation in Poland and its broader aspect within the context of topical world events?

Bakaric: I think that Yugoslavia has presented its attitude in a fairly positive and clear way: What should cause us concern is that the situation in Poland should not in the future turn into a battle between the two blocs. Should such a battle arise the prospects or the Poles themselves resolving this problem will be less and less and this could, therefore, represent a blow to the preservation of peace and the normal development of relations in Europe and in the world. There is nothing more that I would add to this.

Gruic: A new non-aligned summit is planned for 1982. What would you say about the role and activity of the nonaligned in the present-day world events and furthermore, what are we undertaking on the eve of that meeting?

Bakaric: The nonaligned are exposed to attempts to turn them into a reserve of blocs. This initiative comes from both sides. The question which arises is whether the nonaligned, or a good number of them, will take part in mutual antagonisms or whether they will fight to overcome these antagonisms on the basis of equality and on the basis of free development of all countries.

If it is the question of Yugoslavia alone, it adheres firmly to the standpoint that we should work on detente, that we should work on the further development of independence and mutual cooperation by all peoples. It is precisely this which makes us different from bloc rivalry. It makes us different from the United States because we believe that its platform of alleged combatting of the Soviet influence on the nonaligned destroys, or tries to destroy, the unity of the nonaligned on this basic principle. The thesis of the Soviet Union about its natural alliance with the nonaligned, about our reliance on them [as received] is equally dangerous, should the nonaligned turn into an appendage of the Soviet policy. Thus it is dangerous if one forgets independent development: We shall gladly cooperate with everybody who is for the development of detente, for the development of autonomy and independence and for mutual assistance and cooperation of the peoples of the world.

Gruic: Interest for public information has increased. Our social development calls for politically more profound and more committed journalism. You, Comrade Bakaric, have always followed with interest the written and spoken public word. How do you assess today's press?

Bakaric: The assessment of journalism is neither black nor white, but specific, relevant. It is not easy to be a good journalist; this is not easy precisely because a journalist must be educated, must be able to cope, must be quick. In our country perhaps the most difficult thing is this education. You know, I won't say that every journalist must be highly educated, but among journalists there must be politically highly educated people who are able to grasp what is going on, who know how to seek substantiation for what is happening and who are able to anticipate what will happen. To anticipate, this is the most difficult thing. You know the witicism about a politician being good if he is able to anticipate events and then be able to explain skillfully why that which he anticipated did not happen. Nevertheless, there is some truth in this. The question is to find elements which lead to something or to know how to assess which element is ephemeral, transient, and which is lasting and makes it possible to build something on it. You will see, if you look at what is now being written about some world events. You will see, for instance, that that which has happened so far has been well analysed and well presented. But if you look at assessments of tomorrow or the day after tomorrow then things are not so good: As for the day after tomorrow, we don't know what will happen. Why? Because he who writes about it has not taken into account the forces which are moving forward; everything which is swimming on the surface has been presented in the same way regardless whether something is temporary or more lasting.

This must be learned and learned and learned all the time. One should learn from reproaches about what should be changed.

It is difficult to discuss with journalists the situation in journalism because the moment one starts making some kind of assessments they "are up in arms" and say this is an attack on journalism, on the press and then there can be no discussion. Then matters are reduced to the question of whether the journalists are good or not instead of speaking about concrete matters, for instance, about the development of our society today. That which is happening currently is well presented, in particular, that which an individual organization of associated labor does to cope with this situation. But, when you look at global assessments at the present juncture, at that which is happening now, then you will see that some newspapers have made their columns accessible to all and sundry who are against self-management. For instance, when we were discussing Kosovo -- I speak here of newspapers in general and not only about VJESNIK, there was black nationalism and revanchism. The question is asked: Is this the kind of discussion through which a dialogue should be initiated? You know, there are articles with which you have, in fact, sealed the lips of all people who would have something to say. With some people, with some conceptions one cannot talk without adopting a defensive attitude and defending that which was successfully defended a long time ago. Then one can only discuss by severely attacking him to whom you have given space. This is not always useful. Therefore, you should not, for instance, be surprised if a whole series of articles have been published without anybody replying to them. You should have replied, it is not a question of refusing to print; we do not fear this, but the editorial board should decide how, in what form, it will print this and should provide relevant answers. For instance, unitarism, a return to the old system... the press has been full of this. And now, if I am supposed to reply, I won't. Why should every journalist single me out on a subject which was resolved 50 years ago and which was laid down in principle God knows when? (?Urging people to discuss this bring them down) to an incredibly low level. These are the errors and weaknesses of the press for which, should you start your new paper, there is no place.

Gruic: Can you say something about VJESNIK and other publications in more specific terms?

Bakaric: I think that your collective is still somewhat isolationist as regards the questions of organizing discussions. And I think that one should spread one's wings a bit. Not you alone are isolationist. Factors which should help you are also isolationist. You cannot do everything, nor can the journalist. When we pursue a policy, in particular when we are pursuing some changes in the policy, then he who makes these ventures should explain them. Thus, there should be a bit more initiative in this respect and a little more "terror". I don't know, but somehow it seems to me that you are somewhat "restricted" in your scope. I don't know whether the reason for this is the lack of funds and because the environment cannot bear the greater burden of a publishing house which is less restricted. What do I have in mind when I say "restricted"? Compare yourself with POLITIKA, for instance, which is perhaps the most representative paper, so to say, in Yugoslavia. There is much more on-the-spot coverage. Your coverage of Croatia is (?poor), not to mention of other areas. In saying this I do not want say that you should have reporters everywhere but you should have some sources of information, and it would be a good thing were you to have them. Then, in the field of foreign policy, I would say, matters are a bit better but in this respect too the network of sources for your information is restricted. I should not reproach you about the basic aspects of current international events, this is relatively well presented, well depicted; at times, you lag behind events, but not fundamentally, perhaps it is a weakness that the tasks of our policy are insufficiently (?elaborated). I would say as follows:

Were I to give a proposal to a forum in which I work about what it should do, for instance, in the further development of nonalignment, I would say: Fine, I am not in the know about everything so I will ask journalists who deal with this, who have better information -- and who, thus, can make better analyses -- who have a quicker grasp of things at the first glance than I. You will see that such journalists in Yugoslavia can be counted on the fingers of one hand, including in your organization. This means that this sphere of journalism is very, very weak. I know of your effort to publish a weekly, or some other paper and you know too that I have always been skeptical about it. Skeptical precisely for these very same reasons: because I do not see a nucleus for such a paper in the daily press, in daily information. And now, I see that you are going to do it. Good luck to you. We shall see what it will be like.

Gruic: The interest in journalism, at least in the VJESNIK composite organization of associated labor, is again on the way up. At one time journalists kept leaving in large numbers and now we cannot accept all those who are interested. However, the problem is in schooling and training for journalism.

Bakaric: See who sends us journalists if you do not take your special schools into account. For social problems you have two faculties, let us say, here in Zagreb, but neither the one nor the other provides you with what is needed. So what now? Why do you not exert pressure on these faculties, why do you not ask them about what they send you and how, because they send... here, for instance, the faculties of philosophy, of sociology, do not send you anything that is usable? Moreover, they are a conglomeration of anti-self-managing society and ideology and therefore you will see that the young people and even the men who come to you to ask for a job have their heads full of everything except the knowledge of our policy, our system and even our reality. In the methodology of studying you have these problems, you have a system which leads to nothing. At the faculty of political sciences this is less so, but the knowledge there is also less, especially the knowledge of those things that should be known. And now everybody is complaining about this and we have neither sociologists nor econmists who know what should be done. There is my suggestion to Stipe Suvar to organize a discussion about what these faculties give us, not a discussion in which they would have the main say, but a discussion, for instance, in the assembly, or in the town assembly, a discussion, in fact, involving those who have to worry about what will become of the future generations and what we should do to combine science and our social progress, so that an analytical presentation of the state of affairs can be prepared and conclusions adopted on that basis.

This is so because sniping does not lead anywhere. For instance, nothing can be done to get rid of a professor who has totally discredited himself. See what is happening to those Belgrade professors of whom no one can rid themselves and who, when they are driven out there, come here to Zagreb. Marx once succinctly said, I do not remember where, that "Parisian workers went to the wine house to meet and decide what they should do." When they succeeded in what they wanted they again went to the wine house, but to entertain themselves. And now, naturally, one can say now that we have achieved a certain degree of freedom. People entertain themselves with libido, feminism, the theory of organs and similar things. That is all very well, but they are only idle people passing their time and this is not a fundamental trend. This should be born in mind. From your point of view, then, you need a man who can write with merit (whose model will be, let us say, Walter Lippmann), who will have something to say about what is going on and who will not stick to the thesis "we shall not be the regime's journalists." That is a stupid thesis. In what way is a minister to blame if you have gone astray or if you do not agree with him and yet you are right? That is a different position. Then you are not a man of the regime, but are building socialism at your own expense. That is what should be achieved. Or you write about economic difficulties and go on to say: Such and such a minister said the same thing. But he said so on his own responsibility and you should say it on your own. You do not have to echo him, you have to appraise whether he is right or not.

Gruic: In the end would you like to say something about certain articles and books published in recent times which cover or "deal" with specific events of our recent past, the national liberation struggle and the armed revolution. I am naturally also referring to Dedijer's book.

Bakaric: All kinds of things have been written about Dedijer's book and it should be said that it has been very badly received by a number of veterans of the national liberation struggle and party members; but not only party members, and I too have been reproached as if I too were responsible for the publication of this book. First of all, I have placed at Dedijer's disposal all the historical documents which could be of use to him in writing any kind of history of our country and I started doing that before the war. I did so during the war and continued doing so until today. Of the whole of this book I saw chapter 11 before printing and this chapter is entitled, "About the Great Powers' Attitude to Yugoslavia." It dealt with 1941, with Kerestinec, with the situation in Croatia in 1941. I started writing my observations concerning this chapter, but I gave up and made only two observations, which were published by Dedijer. First, about who put me in touch with Kopinic, and the second, concerning Dedijer's thesis that Kopinic was rumored or considered to have been responsible for Kerestinec. I gave up the rest because I considered that the concept of that chapter could not be changed and not only could it not accept my attitude, but would most probably -- and I did not know this till then -- have changed the concept of the whole book. Tempo [Svetozar Vukmanovic Tempo] asked me in ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA to keep quiet. He did so after a beautiful introduction saying that people were hushing up history, after which he asked me to keep quiet and went on to say that no one was writing the truth about 1941 in Zagreb.

First of all, I have publicly stated everything that I had to state about 1941 and everything that I know. I do not know why Tempo is not aware of this. And, secondly, I do not know how he comes to know that no one is speaking the truth, because many people have written on this theme and he himself was not here, but, as he himself says, in Bosnia and I do not know how he can know that no one is speaking the truth, unless he wants to entertain the public. I think that something has to be said about this 11th chapter of Dedijer's book, because it was all written, in fact, on the basis of a prejudice, a prejudice which is constant, which goes back to before the war. He needs arguments to support this prejudice, so he trims arguments to suit the prejudice. The prejudice concerns the attitude of the Soviet Union to Yugoslavia and the roots of nationalism in the party, among the communists of Croatia. The real basis of both prejudices is his closely personal unitarism. To begin with, his methodological approach is wrong. He asked the basic question about various people's attitude to the integrity of Yugoslavia (territorial integrity) and appraised them on the basis of that. For instance, he quotes Roosevelt's view. He says, I think, that it was insincere or [words indistinct] on whether Yugoslavia should be restored after the war as it has been, within its former borders. He says that Roosevelt asked Fotic why the Serbs did not go independent instead of getting involved in that country in which internal relations were becoming so complex. Then he told Churchill that the restoration of Yugoslavia made no sense, because which intelligent person would not forbid the Croats to fight the Serbs or the Serbs the Croats? He obviously considered that Yugoslavia could not exist in the same form as before, on the other hand, he must have been in favor of continuing its territorial integrity, otherwise he would have recognized Hitler's occupation. So, there was no other way. That is clear. However, Dedijer appraises Roosevelt as an opponent of Yugoslavia and, consequently, also in favor of its territorial integrity. I would immediately add: The British were the first to admit that there could be no restoration of old Yugoslavia, with the king, Draza Mihailovic and others.

The third thing is the USSR. That is, in fact, the basic thing that has to be explained. He says that the USSR was against Yugoslavia's territorial integrity, then he produces arguments in favor of that thesis. The events ran as follows:

First they recognized Yugoslavia on 6 April 1941, then they broke diplomatic relations with it, then they renewed them again. Dedijer quotes three elements which are supposed to be arguments. It is true that he does not say that these are his arguments, but the arguments of "certain" comrades at the top of the political leadership, unnamed, the same as this political leadership itself remains unnamed. However, he himself presents them, that is to say he accepts them. The first is the argument that the USSR agreed to the splitting of Yugoslavia by supporting the Bulgarians over their incorporation of Macedonia. This argument is of no value here because the initiative to link the Communist Party of Macedonia with the Communist Party of Bulgaria did not come from the Russians, but from the Macedonians, from Sarlo Satorov, and the Bulgarians welcomed it with great pleasure. The USSR did not interfere in this until sometime in September when they said that the Macedonians were remaining in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. It is true, as he notes, that they said so for practical and not for any, to put it so, theoretical or other reasons. However, I do not know how else they could have acted under the circumstances. Then there is the second argument in connection with Kopinic, who sought to separate the Communist Party of Croatia from the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and set up a Croat party within the independent state of Croatia. The third argument is in connection with Blasko Neskovic, that is that somebody remarked somewhere during the war -- and no one knows who made this remark and when -- that the uprising was being suppressed in Serbia and that Blasko Neskovic was to blame.

Well, now, this is a totally unhistorical view of the whole situation. Stalin talked about the question of Yugoslavia as far back as 1925 and said two things: First, the party was making a mistake in not making any use of the revolutionary potential in the Croats for overthrowing the bourgeoisie and, secondly, discussing this, he said that this should not be turned into an obligation to the Croats to break away, because it was possible that after the realization of the Soviet revolution in Yugoslavia and on the basis of the experience gained in organizing the Soviet Union all these nations would agree to live in the same federal community. Our nations carried out a revolution and introduced a system which, true enough, was not Soviet, but it did correspond to the Soviet one. Already then Stalin said that this was possible, that it was democratic and that it was the result of the socialist revolution. So for Stalin the basis was revolution and not Yugoslavia's territorial integrity. According to Stalin, too, territorial integrity depended on whether we wanted or did not want to overthrow the bourgeoisie. Further, Dedijer forgot what happened with the Comintern. In the years of its inception the Comintern was an association of parties for world revolution. Already some time in the thirties the Comintern came out in favor of the popular front. This popular front might have been revolutionary at the time, but the Comintern started to turn, in fact, into an adjunct of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union as the first country of the revolution. This element, that is the concern for the first country of the revolution, is noticeable in our 1941 document. We went into the national uprising or in general into the uprising and sabotage actions for reasons of our national liberation, but also in the defense of the first country of socialism.

[Bakaric -- cont] So, the Comintern and the Soviet Union were interested in the defense of the Soviet Union. The question of Yugoslav territorial integrity was for them entirely of secondary importance. Moreover, after the German attack on the Soviet Union they recognized the Yugoslav Royal Government and the integrity of Yugoslavia, they recognized that old Yugoslavia should be restored after the war and that a decision will be made about what sort of a regime we should have. So, the Comintern was not at all interested in splitting the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. It could not have been because to establish a party for the so-called NDH [the Wartime Independent State of Croatia] would be tantamount to acknowledging the German occupation, which would have been illogical. They were not stupid enough to commit a folly of this kind. Well now, the question is: Why did Kopinic involve himself in his activity in Zagreb, and on behalf of the Comintern too? To begin with: It is quite clear that the initiative was not that of the Comintern or a Soviet one but Kopinic's.

This is seen fairly clearly even in the documents published by Dedijer. We know that the attack on the USSR began on 22 June, and on 28 June Kopinic came to Rade Koncar with his text in which he criticizes the Croat Central Committee and issues directives as to what has to be done. The directives were copied from the Comintern general appeal to everyone, not only to Yugoslavia, but including Yugoslavia, and the assessment that nothing had been done in his. During a period of 6 days the Comintern could not have come to any decision on what was then happening in Zagreb.

Accordingly, it was Kopinic's idea, but he took shelter behind the Comintern which allegedly said to him: If these people do not follow the Comintern line, change them. He did not say cut them off, or anything of the kind, but: If they are not on line with the tasks of the Comintern, replace them with those who will. Throughout that time Kopinic never said that he wanted to split the party. He got a few people together. There was a handful of people along this line of criticism: Kopinic, Malesevic, Anton Rob-Bumbar, Martini-Kvatro and Pavle Pap, but Pavle Pap was there with an entirely different viewpoint and for a different reason. They got Mirko Vanic and someone else to join them. Moreover, Kopinic never said that he was working for a split, he said that he had no links with Tito, which is open to doubt because as a courier Malesevic moved from place to place. It can now be seen that the group lead by Kopinic aimed at meddling in the Yugoslav party, and that the party, this very same Yugoslav party, rejected this meddling, regardless of whether the Comintern supported him or whether the Comintern, or the USSR, did not support him. So, all that is important and interesting for history is that the party was capable of rejecting this meddling and of working for its unity and for the leadership of Tito and the Yugoslav Central Committee. This was one of many factional attacks. It was demonstrated that the party was already strong enough to withstand such an attack.

Second, there was nothing in it and there were no special intrigues of any significance for history. Then there was the case of Kerestinec. Kerestinec was the reason for the story being brought up again. A year ago the people around Kopinic tried to rehabilitate Kopinic, and of course, the question arose: What happened in Kerestinec, that is to say, was there an agreement with the Croat leadership for this action, so that in some way he could be exculpated from that either because there had been agreement with Koncar, that is to say with the Croat Central Committee, or with the Comintern. I intervened that this should be "discussed", but it was established that the action for Kerestinec was mounted under his pressure. The action, as an action was led by Rob, and not, perhaps by Kopinic, and "the troops" were commanded by Malesevic. This is all known and there is nothing mysterious or strange about it. Then there is the question: Could this action have succeeded or was it doomed to failure? First and foremost, in some way the action, not the action to free the people from Kerestinec but action in the wide sense of the word, was doomed to failure. It was bound to fail because about 90 people were involved who had to get out from Zagreb and who had to go somewhere. As a partisan detachment of 90 people in the vicinity of Zagreb they were not viable and could not exist. Then, there was no free territory that could accept them and in which a detachment of 90 people could be accepted (Note well: This was on 14 July 1941). It is open to question even if the Sisak detachment, which was a big detachment, could have taken on so many people.

[Bakaric -- cont] True, there was a theory of splitting them into several detachments, but there had been no political preparations whatsoever for these detachments to be accepted anywhere. The theory, supported by Anton Rob-Bumbar, was: These are communists who will manage somehow. It follows that this was a facile approach to the whole thing. This action was prepared by the Croat Central Committee, that is by Mrazovic and Belinic. Their main worry was what to do with these people and, accordingly, what they aimed for was to prepare a break-up of the group, to detail these people somewhere and to ensure they were not the target of the police and of all the armed forces from Zagreb.

They were making arrangements to deploy them in the vicinity of Zagreb and I do not know where. In that case too, probably, there would have been casualties, but not in that number and not in that way. Of course, bearing this in mind, the matter looks different and the responsibility lies entirely with Kopinic. It can only be said that the Croat Central Committee ought to have told Lopinic no. A resolute no. However, they told him: All right, since you have organized this, you act on your own and under your own responsibility. But now Dedijer had to say that the Comintern's aim was to split Yugoslavia. Then he dragged Hebrang into this and mentioned that the press, and this means VJESNIK, omitted from my text those passages which criticize Hebrang and Antonov. I checked this: This is my letter to the Central Committee dated 2 January 1942. Yes, it is true you have omitted it, but it is totally unimportant. I said about Antonov that he was sending me thugs dressed as if for an outing, and that it would be a good thing if he didn't do that and that he sould not send them to us to the main headquarters meeting place. It follows that the letter contains no political assessment. As far as Hebrang is concerned, I also said that he is sending us...and I also asked that his meeting place and the main headquarters not be used as an assembly point for the people who should be sent out to join the partisans. So, there is no criticism here. Then he says that the press omitted to publish Tito's dispatches in which he was cursing Hebrang because of his separatism and nationalism, in 1941. There were no such dispatches in 1941. Such dispatches occured only in 1944. However, using Hebrang's example he tried to show these roots of separatism among Croat communists. This communist party and the Croat communists, except perhaps at the beginning, never displayed any unitarist sentiment. Since 1935, and particularly since Tito's arrival, the communists were never unitarists and there was always that part of Croat political thought which was for Yugoslavia and, moreover, for a Yugoslavia established on federal principles, so it could be said that the basis of the party in Croatia was the federal system in Yugoslavia. There was never any separatism and never any nationalism. Occasionally nationalism in Croatia lapped the party, and in fact did it on several occasions, but its roots were not among Croat communists but outside. And why did they need Hebrang? Well, Hebrang was required to show that his is a constant problem.

Accordingly, these are the two prejudices present with Dedijer. The first is about the aspiration of the Soviet Union to split Yugoslavia, which was not the case, or at least was not the case at that time. Perhaps, a few words should be said about Blasko Neskovic.

This third change, that is that the partisan movement did not develop in Serbia and that the leadership, meaning Blasko Neskovic, prevented it, is mentioned directly and it is said that this is a hypothesis, that is to say that there is no evidence for it. And second, that there is evidence that he recommended it or demanded in 1942 that some detachments be disbanded. Of course, it is said that he was doing this under Comintern influence, or rather in keeping with the Comintern notion that the struggle must be conducted in the towns and not in the countryside. This is pure invention. Blasko Neskovic neither had any connections with the Comintern nor did Comintern give such directives to anyone because at that time the slogan, "Cities and Villages, Arise" was already about. I do not know when that slogan was mounted, but its general meaning was that everyone should rise against the occupier. Moreover, this was not in keeping with the general situation in Serbia where there was a general uprising in 1941 and where, of course, a different slogan would not have been acceptable at all. After the blows suffered by the uprising toward the end of 1941, with the fall of the Uzice Republic, it was of course possible that someone was asking for some detachments to be split up into smaller units. This, and nothing else, is possible, but this in no way serves as evidence for the activity of the Comintern. It follows therefore that this entire chapter in Dedijer's book has been conceived erroneously and upside down. As can be seen, it engenders a point of view which is not justified by anything, which is historically impossible and which historically cannot be vindicated by anything.

I have been aware of this prejudice of Dedijer's both about the Croats and about the Soviet Union for a long time and I know that in this respect there is no point at all in trying to explain anything to him because this cannot be explained to him. He played a dirty trick on me, a very dirty trick, when he attributed to me the conjecture that Rankovic was bugging Tito in connection with Comrade Jovanka Broz. And this surmise was transformed by NIN into a hypothesis. So he more or less linked me up with some investigation although in the first sentence of our conversation I said immediately that I had no knowledge of this matter. Any why did he attribute this to me? I do not know, perhaps to amuse the public. I never thought of or surmised anything of the kind nor was I concerned about it, and look how he tried to put me into a pickle.

Gruic: Comrade Bakaric, I should like to thank you really cordially both for receiving the delegation of the VJESNIK composite organization of associated labor and for this conversation.

DRAGOSAVAC DISCUSSES NATIONALISM, IRREDENTISM

LD301400 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1105 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Dec (TANJUG) -- In preparations for their 12th congress next June, Yugoslavia's communists are guided by the need to widen and deepen socialist self-management, Dusan Dragosavac, president of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), has said in an interview with the Belgrade BORBA. In their preparations for the congress, Yugoslavia's communists also struggle against anything in opposition to the theory and practice of self-management, he said.

The chief task of the Yugoslav communists is to develop self-management and, along its lines, to associate labor and means of production. At the same time, this is a precondition for Yugoslavia's wider opening to the world and for a quicker overcoming of autarchich tendencies in Yugoslavia, he evaluated.

In Dragosavac's opinion, a more resolute and better organized action for liquidating various centers of economic and social power separate from enterprise is necessary for the implementation of these tasks.

Dragosavac drew attention to the need for struggle against republic-level and province-level statism. This does not imply, however, any encroaching on the sovereign right of the working class and people of each republic and province to decision-making on the results of social work and to participate in creating and using material means meant for the joint needs at federation level, he added.

Nationalism in Yugoslavia comes to expression when the battle for self-management weakens, Dragosavac said.

"Albanian irredentism as well as greater-Serbian, Croatian, Slovene, Moslem and any other nationalism are, in essence, anti-socialist counter-revolutionary forces that are aimed against socialist self-management," he elaborated.

The president of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the LCY pointed to the need of a stepped-up socio-economic and cultural development of Yugoslavia's Province of Kosovo and this along the lines of the LCY programme. By this and through an organized social action, an end will be put to the occurrences and actions of nationalism and irredentism in Kosovo, Dusan Dragosavac said in conclusion.

POZDERAC ON NEGATIVE PHENOMENA IN SOCIETY, PARTY

LD251610 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1042 GMT 25 Dec 81

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 25 Dec (TANJUG) -- The issue [words indistinct] of the action and organizational development of the League of Communists is a significant issue for the LCY. In the last 7 years, League of Communist membership has doubled and today it has more than 2 million members. But we must admit that something which is ideologically and politically not quite along the lines of the development of a socialist self-management society has "crept in" to the League of Communists.

This assessment was made by Hamdija Pozderac, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, speaking at yesterday's session of the Sarajevo University League of Communist interfaculty conference. Developing this idea, he said that bourgeois consciousness has been creeping into the League of Communists since the war. Pozderac recalled that we live in peace and that there has not been any in the painful history of our country. [sentence as received] Similarly, the trade and money economy have their own negative effect on our self-management socialism.

Pozderac said that we act as if we are afraid to admit that this is the reality and to be forceful in relation to these issues. Precisely (?because of) the fact that there is enough of such activity -- and this is clear from your reports -- we have both ideological swamps, ideological opportunism, and ideological weakness. What does this mean? We have our own orientations, both political and ideological. We are communists and we fight for a classless communist society and for the realization of the direct and historic interests of the working class. In this, he emphasized, we must fight against all those who do not respect this and do not want to come along with us, but are in the League of Communists. I think that a resolute process of differentiation should be carried out in the League of Communists on these issues.

Our democracy and our socialism have rejected much of what is good and what is not good. Therefore, Hamdija Pozderac went on, we must be able to distinguish between one and the other and oppose ideopolitically everything which is opposed to the League of Communist's ideological and political position, as well as to that of the working class, and we should affirm that which is true criticism. I shall not speak about opposition forces which, on the basis of individual weaknesses, are criticizing society as a whole.

Precisely in this context, Pozderac went on, I should like to say something about criticism which is obscuring negative phenomena within our society and has claims to making a constructive change and correcting the situation along the lines of developing and building up socialist consciousness and self-management relations. Sometimes when we are burdened with opposition criticism, Pozderac said, we suppress this true, creative, constructive criticism. We must say openly what is what in order to enter into the ideological and political battle. If we do not do this, we are promoting a neglected situation, bourgeois mentality and the penetration of each others ideologies opposed to the League of Communists.

BRIEFS

RELIEF TO WARSAW -- Belgrade, 30 Dec (TANJUG) -- Belgrade will send the citizens of Warsaw aid in food, drugs and sanitary material to the value of two million dinars (some 5,000 dollars) under a decision taken by the three chambers of the City Assembly of Belgrade today. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1739 GMT 30 Dec 81 LD]